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# The Solution of The Problem of War

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An Abridgment of the Manuscript Book in Five Volumes Bearing the Title THE WORLD QUESTION AND ITS ANSWER

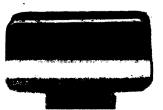
BY

## JOHN E. BENNETT, LL.B.



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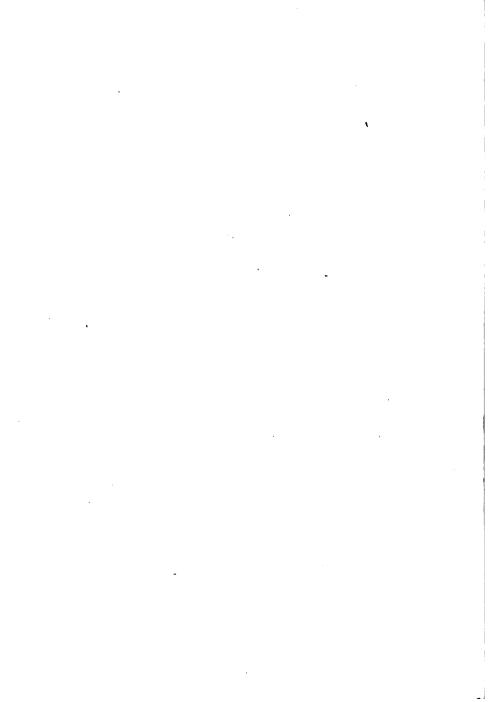




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Nature conceals God; Man reveals God. —Jacobi.

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### THE GREAT CYCLE

### The Solution of the Problem of War

An Abridgement of the Manuscript in Five Volumes, Bearing the Title of

THE WORLD QUESTION AND ITS ANSWER

By JOHN E. BENNETT, LL.B. of the San Francisco Bar

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I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come.—Hag. 2:7.

And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid. —Micah 4:2-7.

> Be beautiful, O morning's feet of gold Upon the mountains of that time to be! Be swift, O dayspring that shall set us free From all the blinding tyrannies of old! Thine are the years by seer and bard foretold, And thine the judgment, driven as the sea On man's high treason to humanity.

> > George Sterling.

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246 Russ Building San Francisco, Cal. Of all war aims none is so important as that there should henceforth on earth be no more war. Whoever triumphs, the world will have lost unless some effective method of preventing war can be found.—Convention of British Labor Party, 1917.

(1a . , of 1900

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### The Question—

HOW MAY MEN IN SOCIETY GET LIVINGS?

### The Answer—

USE THE EARTH IN THE PRESENCE OF FREEDOM AND ORDER.

There has been only one process of development throughout: there is only one system of law therein. Every phase of the social life around us, political, economic and ethical, however self-centered and self-contained it may appear to the beholders themselves, occupies, and will apparently forever occupy, strictly controlled and subordinate relationship to this central process of development. We must put away from us, once and for all, the idea that we can understand any part of this process as an isolated study. Its last human details-those with which the social sciences are concerned, and those in particular which carry us down into the midst of Western progress—can, like all those which have preceded them, only be studied with profit by science when we understand something of the nature of the process as a whole, and of the laws which have controlled it throughout .---Benjamin Kidd: Principles of Western Civilization.

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"For all these reasons I ask you to be of stout heart. There may be stony paths to climb, but we will climb them; our footprints may be stained with blood, but we will reach the heights; and then in front we will see the rich valleys and plains of the new world."—DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, Birkenhead Speech.

#### PREFACE

From this green hillside we ought to be able to see with comprehending eyes the world that lies about us, and should conceive anew the purposes that must set men free.—Woodrow Wilson: Speech at Mount Vernon, July 4, 1918.

The dark shadow under which the world today is struggling in the prevailing war expands its penumbra not only over the councils of the rulers of the nations, but throughout those minds whose office it is to account for and explain phenomena in society for the information and guidance of its statesmen. Everywhere there is incomprehension and perplexity as to what really was the cause of this war, what it means to the nations, and whither it is moving the world. Indeed, insofar as has come to our notice, there has been made no effort to understand the war as a sociological phenomenon, to critically examine society in its structure and adjustments to find if rooted in its organization there exists any error which bred this war as a consequence, or if there be possible within the ken of the mind any arrangement of society which would operate automatically to close the present war and under which future wars would be impossible. It has, indeed, seemed that this field of thought is surrounded by a wall against which the impigned mind crumples and turns under. Not only does it appear that none have undertaken the task, but so preposterous does it seem from the standpoint of performance that no hand or voice has gone forth in its direction to awaken inquiry.

Nevertheless, it has been the effort of the writer to decipher the situation, to explain its meaning and to disclose its remedy. For this to be visible and clear to anyone requires now only a little patience in perusing what follows herein; and it is such indulgence of the reader that the author craves:

The prevailing war differs from all past wars. It involves the nations of Europe no less than Asia and of North, Central and South America. It incorporates in its activities the great continents of Australasia and Africa and their islands. It, in short, compasses the whole world, and is properly called the World War.

The world, therefore, being at war, if we look to see what this means, we shall perceive that it is really the human race that is at war. Now, since war consists of combat, and since combat entails the active presence of contestants, so, in order that a contest may exist, there must be some object which, in the minds of the contenders, constitutes an issue. There is, therefore, in this war somewhere an issue, but where it is the world does not understand.

The war began with certain demands made by a big nation upon a very little one—the demands of Austria upon Serbia. A score or more years ago such demands, resulting in the full acquiescence of the lesser nation, or the small and brief war which would have followed, would have been noted in the press of the United States by occasional front page articles, and finally, without having attracted very much attention, it would have dropped from sight.

But in the year 1914 the nations of Europe were so linked up one with the other, and with the nations of the entire earth, that a spark from Austria thrown into the powder pan of Serbia produced a flare over the whole continent and ultimately enflamed the entire world.

The Serbian difficulty was soon lost sight of. Serbia was eventually effaced; and the war normally should then have been at an end. It continued, however, with ever increasing magnitude and violence. In 1916 all semblance of an issue seemed to have disappeared. President Wilson declared that both sides in the contest appeared to be united on the same thing and that there was no division;\* and there were insistent calls upon the belligerents to state their war aims. On the side of the **Entente** these demands turned out to be the rights of nations to the integrity of their political boundaries; and upon the side of Germany and its Allies, claims to an untrammeled scope for their free and full development.† Here, then, was the issue.

To this the entry of the United States in the war seemed to add another desideratum, or, rather, it crystallized in a phrase—to "make the world safe for democracy"—that for which it was assumed the Allies were struggling. What, however, the term "democracy" signifies beyond perhaps "a universal, free, equal and secret ballot,"

<sup>\*</sup> He (the President) takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world.—Note of President Wilson to the Belligerent Powers, December 18, 1916.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> "Germany sought within her national frontier the free development of her spiritual and material possessions, and, outside the Imperial territory, unhindered competition with nations enjoying equal rights and equal esteem. The free play of forces in the world in peaceable wrestling with one another would lead to the highest perfecting of the noblest human possessions."— Germany's answer to the Pope's Peace Proposal.

with which either as a definition of the term or as an issue of the war, few are satisfied, no one seems to know; certainly, no reasoned exposition of the phrase has been thus far put forward.

The most that can be said of this edge given by us to the European issue is that in some way "integrity of national boundaries" goes along with "democracy," and "democracy" does not go along with the "free and full development" of a nation; that is, with the method of advancing that free and full development, pursued by Germany.

If we look at Germany to see what this method has been, we shall find that it presents no practical difference from that of the methods of other nations looking to the same end. It is true, the Government of Germany is monarchical, but so is that of England. There are in Germany as compared with the vote of the citizens in some other places—say, in the United States, certain limitations upon the popular franchise. The ballot in Germany is universal, but it is not so effective in registering the voter's will upon the government as with us. Nevertheless, it can hardly be said that in Germany the voter has less voice in the government than in Italy or in Belgium, both of which nations are contending as strenuously as are we for "democracy."

Here therefore we have the issue of the war on the part of Germany:—"We want conditions admitting, allowing, in consonance with, our free and full development, in all aspects which the word **development** may imply." On the part of the Allies:—"We want the boundaries of nations, however small, respected. We do not object to the idea of free and full development of a nation, of course not. That is a matter of its own internal concern—a thing which it must pursue according to its own lights. Only in pursuing it, it must not disturb the territory and full autonomy of other nations."

Here we get the issue very clearly defined. It is that the free and full development of a nation, as such development was being pursued under the sociological system existing in Germany, is not compatible with respect for, and integrity of, other nations.

And, as the German sociological system is that of the entire world, it means that nations, as nations, cannot pursue free and full development under the prevailing sociological system.

Under the prevailing sociological system therefore war, more or less constant, is essential to the free and full development of nations. That is, the principle of Nature entails that, in this scheme of progress under prevailing sociological adjustment, only the strongest survive.

The existence of war is nevertheless recognized by both sides as a thing which it is desirable to get rid of. People do not know that nations cannot attain free and full development under the existing sociological system. They think, in fact, that they can do so. And they regard war as an interference with the working towards its objective of what they look upon as the process of free and full development. They of course, do not know what war is; for. as we show herein, war is essentially a part of the existing sociological system, through which such development as the race possesses has been possible, which development never could have been attained without war, and which, do what we may to prevent it, will endure so long as the system lasts. In other words, war cannot be gotten rid of save by abolishing the prevailing, or Protective System. It is, as I show, and has always been, Nature's safeguard to preserve the race from famine, and the consequence, extinction of its culture. This, Nature will never permit to occur. Civilization can never go backward; it can never be effaced. The race scheme is automatically adjusted that man must forever progress.

It was to prevent war that the nations were at the war's outbreak linked together in groups under the "balance of power" idea. As the war progressed it became apparent that Grmany would get rid of war by bringing the whole world under the dominion of a single political establishment—her own. The Allies would effect the same result by a group composed of several nations having cojointly the physical force to impose their wills upon the others this, under the scheme of the so-called **League to Enforce Peace**, being an extension of the idea of "balance of power."\* In both instances, the prevailing sociological system is preserved, and in both instances the text of the issue of the war is manifest, for as both the purpose of Germany and that of the Allies effaces the autonomy, the self determination, of other nations, so it is apparent that the

<sup>\*</sup> As between a world under the German kaiser and a world under the president of a World Parliament of Nations, leagued to enforce peace, there is indeed little to choose. The distinction would chiefly be that in case of German victory, society would be in the grip of the Protective Spirit fully evolved, and in the League scheme the Spirit or System would have yet some distance to go before it developed the full mechanism of political and economic despotism and slavery for which Germany stands. But that the leagued nations would swiftly reach the German condition, to which they were rapidly gravitating at the outbreak of the war, and have since tremendously increased their pace, there cannot be the slightest question. The success of their scheme would mean continuous famine, or the practical continuance of Nature's defense against famine-war.

prevailing sociological system is incompatible with the free and full development of any nation

Here, then, we have this great fact: That the human race in its residence upon the earth, has come to a rift which has thrown it into conflict and welter of nightmare and horror; and this rift is that the sociological system under which it exists is not compatible with its free and full development.

Such being the fact, and the great war being an incident and expression of that fact, we ask ourselves two things: First, if the present sociological system is not compatible with the free and full development of the human race, and since this system has always prevailed, why was there not a world war before? And second, what office does the world war play, or what effect does it have upon this question of free and full development of the race? Does it make it any better, any easier, any more possible, under the prevailing sociological system, or does it interfere with it?

To consider this, we turn to two facts plainly spread before us: That what the world war is doing is to slacken and reduce population. In all prior time, when there were no world wars, albiet there had come to be continental wars, there was less population upon the earth than now. The world war, therefore, is manifestly trying, or tending, to get population in its numbers back to the point where, in the past, world wars did not occur, so that development might go on without so many people. So it might seem that population in its present state of numbers. diffused over the whole earth\* may. in connection with the prevailing sociological system, have something to do with the world war. And here we get the key to the whole situation; for, as set forth in this book, the world war was caused by the ending of the Great Cycle, during which man was settling up the earth as a civilized being. The prevailing sociological system was the method by which man was gotten over the earth—through which that settlement was effected.

Man has finished that settlement. It came to an end about the year 1880. But the sociological system under which he was pushed over the earth did not change when the Great Cycle was completed. It persisted, and today prevails as in the past, everywhere throughout the world. It was the presence of this System

<sup>\*</sup> There are now probably seventeen hundred million people upon the earth. In 1800 the estimated number was eight hundred millions. The world has increased its population nine hundred millions in one hundred years. "The population of the earth, at its present rate of gain, will be about 4,000,-000,000 in 2014."—N. Y. World Almanac, 1917, p. 75.

after Nature's use for it in her scheme of the cultural spread had passed, that produced the world war.

The war was necessary in order to call the attention of the race to the system; for it is only through attention universally drawn to it that it can be abolished, and that method introduced and applied for which the new order calls. What this new method is, and how it may be applied, this book shows.

The human came into existence on the Indo Malaysian peninsula out of a very few beings, creatures similar to apes. He came forward through the lower organic scale under certain laws of Nature, which laws he has continued to obey. The first of these laws is Progress. Coming into human life as a savage, and having laid upon him by Nature the command of progress, and progress being effected through his spiritual unfoldment-his mental and moral development-it was absolutely necessary, in order to effect this, that man be gotten over the earth. Thereby he might be placed in such diverse situations as would call forth in the highest degree his mental activities. The task of getting him, therefore. from that spot in Indo-Malaysia over all parts of the entire earth. in a condition, moreover in which his spiritual unfoldment might go swiftly on-which meant civilized settlement, a settlement which keeps up communication with all its parts, and not savage settlement, which is isolation of one part from the other-this was the work of Nature during what I call the Great Cycle. It was a period which I conclude of about twelve thousand years, of which six thousand years are historical and probably six thousand\* prehistorical.

It ended, as I say, about 1880. It was a movement toward free land. It was about that year that the free land of the world, under the prevailing sociological system, became exhausted. Not that all land came to be used, but to be privately **owned and priced**, and hence for most part unavailable; so the movement ceased. The operation of the several laws of nature under which man exists in society, in getting him over the earth, as well as the law themselves I show herein.

Man's career throughout the Cycle was marked not only by his spread over the earth, but by his constant spiritual advance. Nature's purpose was that when he did get over the whole earth as civilized man, his culture would be such that he could go forward

<sup>\*</sup> For the evidences and considerations upon which the author rests his conclusions that the prehistoric period of man did not exceed six thousand years, despite the geologists' claims of vast antiquity for man, see Chapter XIX herein.

very rapidly toward her great ideal, the perfect man. So we find his course studded with the rise and fall of certain sociological institutions, each necessary at the beginning to further his progress, but which he grew out of, which became worn out, and were one after another abandoned. These institutions all bear the one characteristic—that of holding the many in subjection to the few. In the stages of dimness of the mind, nature developed leadership in those of the race whose minds were most unfolded; and they employed harsh means in dealing with their charges, suited to those who must be moved by physical rather than by mental processes. You do not reason with a horse to make it start, you command it; and if it does not obey, you lash it. This was precisely the way man was moved forward from the savage to his present enlightened state. He may now dispense with both the command and the lash, for with order alone enforced, he may proceed in his upward growth through the twin influence of self interest and idealism.

The race has reached and passed many of these stages where it has abolished an institution which, at the time of its adoption, was a benefit, but which had become an impediment. The course of the human from the aboriginal savage to his present enlightenment has been marked from age to age with these incidents. Successively man threw off savagery, barbarism and pestilence. The autocratic Church was swept aside by the ascendancy of the autocratic State. This, in turn, was, in its despotic character, effaced and succeeded by the representative State. The institution of slavery—a condition existing in the absorption by the State from the citizen of his political right of contract, was abolished by political liberty. Each and all of these establishments, though, now seemingly hateful and pernicious, and some of them scourges, drew unconsciously upon the race and were necessary aids to its progress. They were the hard, steep steps by which civilization mounted to its present eminence.

This abolishing of a worn out custom has often been marked by the convulsion of war. By war religion ceased to rule in secular affairs; by war the feudal lord was swept aside; by war human slavery was ended. If by war what is wrong in present society must be dislodged, the fingers of the recent dead are pointed to it. They have not died in vain! This great war of the world will close the career of that institution which produced it, which is what I call the Protective System .

In one respect, however, this change that is upon us is the most singular of all alterations of the course of society. Its peculiarity consists in that the real source of the trouble is not identified. Religion as a lay establishment had its physical front and head in the papacy or that of the Sublime Porte! Slavery, with us, was sectionalized in the South; but where is the edifice of that creation which today causes all the horror that fills the world, and against which the blows of the forces of human progress must be directed?

It will not come as a sound unfamiliar to many ears when it is proclaimed that the institution is Privilege. But when this is said, the air becomes filled with interrogatories; "What is privilege?" "Where is privilege?" "Who has privilege?" And when we turn for information to such sources as might contain it-the books of sociological writers-we find in them no intelligent comprehension of the subject, no clear definition of either what privilege is, how or where it is exercised, that it is responsible for the untoward sociological condition ,or how it may be abolished. These things, however, are now revealed, as well as the method, the necessary legislation, by which Privilege may at once be removed from the world. It is shown that the unit, or individual in society is in the grip of certain laws of nature which bear everywhere and at all times upon him, which act mechanically, and which if not obeyed by Society bring upon it and all within it their inexorable punishments. What these laws are and their action in society is disclosed in the book of my authorship entitled The World Question and Its Answer: The Solution of the Problem of War. This book is in five manuscript volumes. Its preparation occupied six years, exclusively devoted to it.

While arrangements are being made for the appearance of these volumes, it has been deemed advisable to offer the brief synopsis of the subject that appears in this abridgment. This, of course, is wholly insufficient. The matter to be fully understood must be set forth in extenso. Sociology, which is now lifted out of the tangle of a discursive and speculative philosophy, and has become a science as exact as mathematics, cannot be set forth in a hundred and fifty pages. The very nature of the inquiry requires space and bulk. When the exposition is limited to the brevity of mere assertion it is almost worthless. Sociology's statement consists of the enunciation of the natural laws upon which it rests, and of the synthesis, passing from these laws to the several phenomena in society as we find it. The sociological work to be useful must therefore abound in analyses, analogies, illustrations. The sociologist is an analyst, and to test his correctness or to discern his error requires only the checking up of syllogisms.

Such being the facts and circumstances the author feels it is proper to present this small book; to that proverbial busy man who takes all information and intellectual alteratives in the pellet form, often rejecting those which are not sugar-coated, this presentation of the subject may be sufficient. But for the student, and those who demand that on so great and vital a matter as the sociological adjustment of the world the mind shall be fully satisfied before proposed change is undertaken, this book will not suffice. The author hopes that he may soon place the entire work in the hands of such as these.

I may add briefly that the solution of the problem we are about to enter upon is the abolishing of all monopolies by the legislative body of the nation, they being the containers of privilege, and the using of the land within society—valuable land—to its full efficiency. This is done by the State (or government) laying a charge or "Call" upon the value (social value) sufficient to compel the land's orderly use. The support of the State is derived from the sum so raised. The change produces a vast new fund of social value, or land value, which makes the arrangement highly profitable to the land owner. The system by which this is effected is termed the Call System in contra-distinction to the Protective Spirit or System, which now prevails, and to differentiate it from the Single Tax, a body of philosophy which is chiefly erroneous.

In using the phrase the **Call System** the reader will understand that it is a term merely descriptive of that natural adjustment and balance of society under which complete harmony would prevail. It is not the desire of the author to impose on the world or anyone in it, his system for society. Such assumption would be preposterous. But the book purports to show the error which exists in present society which produces war, and in peace, all the phenomena of disturbance which we know so well. To designate the true and natural order it must have a name, and the name employed is the **Call System**, a term so unattractive that the author may comfortably contemplate that it will not be employed beyond the pages of his books.

In conclusion let me emphasize that the reader should bear always in mind that this book is merely an abridgement of the larger work, and a brief abridgement at that. Many, very many points which should properly be incorporated in the several chapters are not noticed, and whole chapters which should be added do not appear. It is this curtailment necessary in a synopsis which may make the reader feel that the book should have had a further going over before its appearance. This indeed, is true; but the author was unable to give it further time. Nevertheless the many questions which will arise in the mind of the reader, especially he who has held to politico economic tenets opposite those of the book, and which the book will not explain, may produce the impression that the work is incomplete. Such is not the case. It is merely that in the space allotted herein to a summary it has been impossible not only to make the elucidations, but even to touch upon the points. Such inquirers I can only refer to the larger work.

#### CHAPTER I.

### THE BASIC NATURAL LAWS OF HUMAN SOCIETY.

Under Their Influence Man Was Evolved — Appearance of Man Marked a Change in Evolution from Organic to Spiritual—How Nature Spurred His Mind to Effect His Spiritual Progress—The Self-Evident Character of the Laws of Nature—Man Driven Over the Earth and Nature's Reason for Such Distribution.

Human society rests upon seven basic natural laws. These are, respectively:

- (1) Progress.
- (2) Order.
- (3) Preserving one's life (an instinct).
- (4) Propagating one's life (an instinct).
- (5) Destruction of the human by the human (an impulse).
- (6) The human increases his numbers faster than wild food reproduces.
- (7) The human tends to increase his numbers faster than his mind unfolds to use the earth to provision him.<sup>‡</sup>

Laws bearing upon the unit and directed to preserving the unit. Called immediate laws.

Laws bearing upon the unit but directed to preserving the race. Called mediate laws.

The mere name which we apply to these several subjects is, of course, a matter of no particular consequence. We may call them **principles**, or whatever else we like. I call them laws, for the reason that they each have all the qualities of a law. What is a law? If we shall consult the legal textbooks for the meaning of the word, we shall find agreement upon some such definition as this: 'Law is a rule of civil conduct laid down by the supreme power of the State, commanding certain things to be done, and forbidding certain things from being done, for the peace and order of society." Some legal writers have changed **peace** to good, making it read, "for the **good** and order of society"; this under the latter day idea that it is proper to use the State to produce what is for the moment deemed "the greatest good for the greatest number." The language rather relates to the operation of law than comprises a statement of what law is. Law is: a provision issuing from the Supreme power di-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>‡</sup>See note at end of Chapter III.

rected to enabling each and all of the units of society to exist.\* In the field of institual law, this power is the Divine; in that of political law it is the State.

The real project of law is progress of the unit; and the way this is effected is through order. Law, both natural and political therefor, bears upon each individual, and the medium by which it identifies itself is a mandate. These mandates in political law we now call statutes; in natural law I call them commands.

That law is a provision enabling each and all of the units of society to exist, we may see by contemplating, in the field of political law, what the condition would be if there were no such law. Suppose today we should wipe out all political law, and thenceforth forever refuse to create any such laws, what would the effect be? Men would at once destroy each other.† They would revert forth-

\* The statement that law is a provision enabling each and all of the units in society to exist may seem in contradiction to the mandates of the fifth, sixth and seventh laws, since these command the destruction of units in so-ciety. This destruction, however, is directed to the end of enabling each and all of the units of society to exist, which occurs when society attains that state where these laws become non effective, or, in other words, obeyed. A seeming paradox here exists in that one by failing to do the specific act which the law commands is obeying the law, and, one may assume, per contra, by doing the act commanded by the law, he is not obeying it. But the latter conclusion does not follow. By doing the act which the law commands he is not disobeying the law-he is simply not fully obeying it; for the law is aimed at producing a state of society in which all the units can be provisioned, and is fully obeyed when it has delivered all the units into that con-These three laws, which I call mediate laws, are directed not to the dition. unit but to the race. Nature sacrificing the unit to effect this ultimate condition of the race. Without these three mediate laws man could never have risen out of savagery. See note at end of Chapter III.

<sup>†</sup> I am aware that this will be denied by those who hold that the "mutual good will of individuals and their desire for the approval of their fellows will be sufficient to maintain harmonious co-operative effort for the benefit of all", which is the doctrine of anarchy. The doctrine, however, is erroneous. The pressure in society of the disintegrating forces of the Protective Spirit, which anarchy knows nothing about, would always produce thieves and murderers, which now, with the existence of laws and with the State to administer them, but imperfectly protect society. But even under the natural system, the Call, the organized State, and laws, criminal and other, will always exist. It is not those upon the higher planes of conduct who determine the rules of society, but those upon the lower. Society in its standards is not higher than the man lowest down. It is hence the task of society to lift the lowest in order that all may be free. When I present a check for payment at the bank on which it is drawn, and I am told I must be identified as the payee before payment will be made, it was not the good and moral people of San Francisco who made that rule: it was the thief in New York or elsewhere, who, having stolen a check, falsely represented himself as the payee and received the money from the bank yonder, which the bank had again to pay to the rightful holder.

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with to savagery, and in savagery numbers are few. They would lose the knowledge they now possess and their food would again become wild life.

The laws of nature are perfect. They are equal and self-administering. They operate upon their subjects without the latter being conscious of their existence; yet when one awakens to knowledge of the presence of such laws he must obey them just the same. They reward obedience and for disobedience they inflict punishments, and in their punishments they are inexorable; yet their dooms are nicely adjusted to the degree of the offence. If you touch your finger to the surface of the hot stove you will have a slight burn; if you thrust your hand into the coals you shall have a severe one. The laws are permanent, though man, as I elsewhere remark, through obedience to them, may no longer feel their effects. They are farreaching in their directions, and are planned to deliver man at the status of perfection, which he will ultimately acquire following his entry upon the sociological state of equal right.

So, then, regarding these several natural laws, we find that they were each necessary to the existence of man. Without the presence of each of them man could not have lived upon the earth. Without the mandate of the third law, self-preservation, he would never have ingested food, nor beaten off, nor escaped from enemies. Without that of the fourth law, self-propagation, he would never have generated young. Without that of the fifth law, destruction of the human by the human, he would never have slain another, and, in consequence, his population would have so thickened, before his mind arose to produce food artificially, that men would have eaten up their wild subsistence and all perished of famine. Without the presence of the sixth law, that population increases faster than wild life replenishes, man could never have risen out of savagery-he would have remained a mere beast. Without the seventh law, that population tends to increase faster than the mind unfolds to use the earth to provision, he never, as civilized man, would have spread over the earth; hence he could not have obeyed the supreme law of Progress, without which law, the other laws being in existence, man's numbers would have been held down by famine and mutual destruction;

And the conduct of that thief has visited inconvenience and annoyance upon me. "Mutual good will" and "desire for approval" will, indeed, act powerfully under the Call System, and, economic pressure being relieved, will tend to elimination of crime; but they will never do away with the necessity for the organized State, nor for the presence of laws, both civil and criminal, albeit when society acquires the general status of the perfect man, which under the Cal System it will some time reach, criminal laws will be no longer effective.

in other words, he would have remained a beast with no greater increase in his units than we find with the anthropoids. This seventh law man has never vet obeyed; that is, he has not yet been brought in harmony with it. He has been moved throughout the Cycle by its effects and has been proceeding towards obedience to it. These effects have been to move him to try to meet it by increasing his initiative, his intelligent energies, and by trying to escape its effects by emigrating to accessible, or free, land. Always his population has increased more rapidly than his mind unfolded to use the earth to provision him.\* After society acquires its natural sociological system, spoken of here as the Call System, he will begin to obey this law; that is, his mind will unfold to provision himself more rapidly than his population increases. He will then be in that Elysian state of society which has been the dream of the seers of the ages. The second law, order, did this not exist, there would be chaos everywhere, and no life of any kind, human or other, would be possible upon the earth-

It is by the co-ordinated operation of these seven laws that the human has come forward from the level of the ape to his present civilized state. Obedience to these laws ultimately procures complete harmony amongst men. As in the case with all law, the task set to man is to understand them and to perceive the proper lines of their application.

All forms of life have moved forward in obedience to the command of the first law. Progress has been the rule of all life; the limitation and guidance from the second law—that is, the law of order—has directed progress.

The reason for the existence of the earth, and of all life upon the earth, is man. The Divine purpose in instituting man was and is to unfold his mind; for man is a spirit, or rather a **Mind**, in a

The elephant is reckoned the slowest breeder of all known animals. Assuming that it begins breeding when thirty years old, and goes on till ninety years of age, bringing forth only six in the interval, and surviving till one hundred years old, Darwin reckoned that in the period of some 750 years there would be living, as the descendants of a single pair, nearly nineteen million elephants.—Kidd: Principles of Western Civilization, p. 35.

<sup>\*</sup> The increase of life, as Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace points out, is always in geometrical ratio. Linnaeus has calculated that, if an annual plant produced only two seeds—and there is no plant so unproductive as this—and their seedlings next year produced two, and so on, then in twenty years there would be a million plants. "Even slow breeding man," says Darwin, "has doubled in twenty-five years, and, at this rate, in less than a thousand years, there would literally not be standing room for his progeny." Of every form of life in the world the same law holds good; its rate of increase tends to overbalance the conditions of its life.

body. And the reason for so unfolding the mind is to prepare man for a future life. This determination is forced upon the sociologist after considering all elements of the scheme of the earth and its human tenant. The conclusion cannot be escaped that the whole vast affair, highly organized and proceeding as it does in obedience to inflexible laws, serves a Divine purpose, and that this purpose has reference to a future state of the human's life. If this is not the purpose, the entire thing is without object; it is meaningless and therefore worthless.

Life moved forward in obedience to the first four laws we have enumerated, and these laws obtain today just as at the beginning. Starting with the protoplasm, as the scale was ascended toward man, the forms entered the zones of higher laws. The fifth law, for instance, the impulse of destruction of the human by the human, does not appear in the lower forms; had it been the quality of these lowest organisms to devour each other, their multiplication would have been by themselves held down, possibly to a single individual, and life consequently extinguished. The faculty does not exist even among many of the higher forms. For instance, sheep and rabbits do not have it. Wolves may fight severely among themselves, but their bent is not mutual destruction, and they do not conduct war. Some of the social hymenoptera, however, as bees and ants, being highly organized, maintaining communal life and order, have developed this quality; but the faculty is not implanted in them to the extent, or for the purpose, as the brevity of their life cycles indicate, as it is in man, which is to hold down population.

The primordial protoplasm, monad, sarcode, or whatever we may call it—this microscopic speck of marine mucus from whence came all forms of life—possessed two instincts: to preserve its life and to give life; the first moved inwardly toward self, the second outwardly towards others. It possessed the anabolistic power of converting other substances into its own, or of ingesting food, which in obedience to this third law of self-preservation it did, as it also defended itself against enemies. Here, then, was an expression of Mind trying to preserve its material envelope through which it might function upon the plane of matter and obey the first law of Progress.

The environment of this blob caused it to put forth other forms so that its life might persist. Its enemies, of course, could be only climatic, for there was no other life. There were, therefore, temperature, moisture, motion of the air and waters, chemical constituents of the substances with which it came in contact, friction, pressure and so on. Under these influences, and to preserve its life, as well as in the process of giving life to others, it bore the next higher form; and so we have the sponge, the coral, the plant, which latter established a great fission in the life of the world; then, following the animal line, the mollusk, the fish, the reptile, the bird, the quadruped, and finally man.

All through this scale the change of forms was due to the creature endeavoring to fit itself to its environment. It was beset by objects and conditions which would destroy its life, against which to preserve its life it must needs change its form. If the climate got cold it must thicken its skin, or grow fat, blubber or hair. If another species would prey upon it, it must try to deceive it by changing its shape, or color, by feigning death, or other device; failing this, it must put forth a foot and crawl away, a tail and swim away, cover itself with a hard shell, bury itself in the mud, and so on. Those who could not do this succumbed. It was nature's scheme to weed out the weak and preserve the strong, and thus to carry forward the life-process, a proceeding which we now call natural selection.\* Her plan has always been to sacrifice the unit to drive forward the race. In this manner environment forced the evolution of forms. and we find the scale changing from the lower to the higher, at each step the organism being a growth of intelligence.

When, however, man was reached the order changed. For while throughout the organic ladder form had altered to fit environment in man appeared a creature who could alter environment to fit his form. Here, then, at man the organic evolution ended. Physical form ceased to change. Man's shape will never vary; he will preserve his fashion to the end. Thenceforth the surrounding influences which once bore upon the creature to build his body from the lower to the higher, now bore upon his mind as man to build it from the lower to the higher. Physical evolution had ceased, spiritual evolution began.

Nevertheless, as bodily inertia was native with the animal, so was mental inertia native with the human. Nature disposes the creature to rest.<sup>†</sup> This is an introversional quality and belongs to

<sup>\*</sup> Natural Selection is not a law, but a process of nature. It rests upon two laws—the fourth and the sixth. For when the statement is made that "the rate of increase of every form of life tends to overbalance the conditions of its life," this is simply another way of saying that population tends to increase faster than wild life reproduces. The other element of Natural Selection, comprising as it does "a tendency in individuals to vary in all directions within small degrees, with capacity for the transmission to offspring of the result"—this rests upon the fourth law—giving life to others—and is a part of its phenomena.—See Origin of Species, pp. 3, 97.

t This tendency of Nature to quiesence, which while man is upon the physical plane operates towards sloth, necessitating the strong impulses of physical discomfort we have named to arouse mental action—nevertheless, in

the third law, the preservation of self. One of its expressions is conservatism, which holds us to positions so that we do not fly away upon slight suggestions. To induce motion required stimuli. This was provided by both inward and outward calls. Hunger for food, the sexual desire, the impulse to protect the young, proceeded from within; while without, enemies, organic, climatic and others, surrounded and assailed. Man was compelled to get food: he could not lie hidden in a cave. While hunting food he was exposed to attacks. Nature put poisons in animals, in plants, in minerals; teeth in beasts, briars on plants; there were insects and nettles. They were all directed to destroy his life, to wound him, to annoy and harass him. Their number was not so great nor their presence so general as to overcome the human and destroy his race, but they destroyed units of his race; otherwise he would not have known that they had the power to destroy. To defend his life against these, man was compelled to throw off his mental inertia and to think. In doing this he was obeying the first law on a higher plane, for only by thought can man progress.

We have, then, this human, commanded by Nature to progress, coming forward at the end of the organic chain. If the whole terrestrial scheme had not been addressed to his mind, there would have been no object in bringing him into existence at this stage of creation. The God who made him the last of creation could have made him the first. He could have fed him on sea water as He feeds the zoophyte. But had He brought man into existence at the start, man would have been placed in a barren world; there would have been nothing about him, for long, long years, to stimulate his mind; nothing upon which the mind might act.\* A few low, barren hills pressed

the cultured state, becomes one of the greatest incitements to thought. It is the basis of much of the initiative which arises in society. All contrivances aimed at saving labor, at achieving a result with lessened expenditure of effort, which indeed comprises the great volume of inventions in peace or for war, are created through this principle. It is the desire to possess particular benefits while holding on to the maximum of quiesence, while expending for such benefits the minimum of exertion, that is at the bottom of every laborsaving, labor-easing device, and such devices constitute about all the mechanisms of industry, and therefore it becomes the very essence of progress, which requires that as population increases initiative must arise in order that ever enlarging population may be able to feed itself from the same areas of the earth.

<sup>\*</sup>We observe every element in the great scheme of Nature with the human where the question might arise as to whether its effect would be to hasten or retard his progress, is directed towards rapidity of his mental unfoldment, and against slowless in that process. Hence the impossibility of correctness of the assumption of great age for man upon earth ere he drew into history. The prehistoric interval, which I place at six thousand years, seems well sustained. See Chapter XIX.

up out of the ocean, and sharp granite peaks, the backbones of future continents, a world of silence and desolation, constituted the earth at that time. Obviously, man could but feebly have obeyed the law of progress amidst such surroundings. When, however, he did come forth, the earth was rich in forms of infinite variety. They were spread before him to employ his mind. For long thousands of years he should explore and not exhaust their multitude. They, their combinations and their issues have opened to him, as his mind arose, ever new fields of observation and meditation, calling forth constantly an increase of his mental powers.

The law of Progress in the spiritual evolution of man is plain to us if we compare the first man with the man of today. Any of the reproductions of Paleolithic or Neolithic man, the Neanderthal man, the Heidleburg man, the Sussex man, and so on, or the savage of today compared with one of highest culture, show the difference to be not in bodily form but in spiritual advance, in mental and moral capacity.

Order is the method by which Progress moves. I call order, quite arbitrarily, perfect where it moves through reason, and imperfect where it moves through force. Order has always existed, guiding life forward, guiding man forward, ever toward the goal of the perfect man, which he is destined to reach. Where the law of Order is not obeyed, where disorder exists, punishment is certain to follow to those who disobey, and if reason be deficient, force moves forward to push aside the disorder so that progress may proceed.

Man, while in obedience to the third law (self-preservation), being surrounded by objects which drove upon his body, was compelled to think, yet the tendency of the thought thus evoked was to overcome the obstacles which drew it forth. Man would soon learn the habits of the beasts, of the serpent; he would learn what plants were poisonous and avoid them, and having so learned his mind would revert to inertia. With a limitation of such objects in the catalogue of stimuli tending to compel thought, the rise of man would not have been higher than his ability to cope with beasts. Nature, however, gave him one enemy whose habits he could not learn, as he learned the habits of the bear, for he would alter his conduct to fit circumstances, whose powers of destruction would rise as his mind arose, and whose quality it would be to strenuously force forward the mind-this was man himself. Man's greatest enemy was man. And here we get the fifth law, the destruction of the human by the human.

In savagery the stranger was killed on sight. He was killed for otherwise he would kill, and his body was eaten like that of any other animal. This compelled man to be ingenious in his artifices for defense; it forced constant alertness of the mind. It did not constitute the sole pressure upon his mind to unfold it, for these influences were several, the chief being that provided by the sixth and seventh laws, tendency to dearth of subsistence; for we find savage races today who have always lived under the influence of the fifth law, inhabiting regions of tropical abundance of food supply, where the sixth law, therefore, did not exert its full effects upon them, who have not advanced. War, pestilence, etc., and their savage rites have always been sufficiently active in holding down their populations, though in past times some of their numbers may have emigrated.

Not only, however, did this quality of killing the human move thought in the contrivance of weapons, from the club to the pointed stick or spear, then the arrow with its bow, the stone with its sling, and so on through the whole amazing range of ballistics with which we are now familiar through the evolution in methods of warfare, but it compelled man to unite his strength with that of his fellows in a common defense. This union was founded on lines of blood, and so we have the fourth law (giving life to others), acting under the influence of the fifth law, as the basis of primitive society. This fourth law moved the male toward the female; it impelled him to protect her and her children, and these united their strength with his to resist or to capture the stranger. To these were soon added descendants and collaterals, and we have first the family, then the tribe.

As nature feeds the infant with a special pabulum stored in its mother's breast because its body is not able to assimilate its parents' provender, so in the infancy of the mind she fed man. She stored his environment with food which he had only to harvest. His mind was only fitted to harvest food, not to artificially produce it. For if nature had required him to feed himself through artificially using the earth, he must have starved, and thus ended the race movement, since he did not know how to do it. But while his environment was rich in forms of succulence, inducing him to engage his mind in their gathering or capturing, yet there was ever present a law, the sixth law, that this natural food would in its ratio of reproduction be less than that of increase of his population. That is, were man confined to the circle of a given region of the earth, his population there would increase faster than his food supply would naturally replenish. This law also obtains throughout nature: animals increase as the food supply increases and fall back when it declines. Their increase also draws upon them enemies which diminish them

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and tend to hold their numbers within the limit of their food supply. By the peril from such enemies the animals are kept active and alert, the strongest surviving. These are among the influences which tend to hold what we call the "balance of nature."

The existence of each of these laws is apparent and self-evident. To perceive them, attention needs only be directed to them. That the sixth law, for instance, exists we may prove if we look around How long could the present population of California continue us. were its food supply limited to its wild life? I dare say that the entire stock of present wild life from the land of California, both animal and vegetable, would not furnish sufficient food for fortyeight hours to the population of San Francisco. Here there are five hundred thousand people. It has been said somewhere that at the time of the arrival of Columbus, the native population of the territory which is now the United States could not have exceeded two hundred thousand persons. Yet consider what an abundance of wild life there was then in the country for their food supply. The existing population of California has been made possible only by the rise of the mind from the savage plane to our present knowledge of ways to cause the earth artificially to yield food.

This sixth law was seen by Malthus and his predecessors, but they did not understand it, and so attributed to it a harmful, rather than a beneficial, influence. And acting with this sixth law is the seventh-the law that human population tends to increase faster than the mind unfolds to use the earth for producing food, or, briefly, faster than initiative arises. That this law exists is manifest by most of the people in society being less than fully employed, and, in times of peace, a large margin unemployed. Did the mind rise as population increased to know how to employ everyone, not alone to his full efficiency, but-in order to bring out his full efficiency-to reward him with full and fitting remuneration, we should have no unemployed and no one would be less than fully co-operative; that is, people would have more demand for their services, or their goods. than they could meet-there could be no such thing as business hard times with anyone. The primary purpose of these two laws, the sixth and the seventh, was to force savage man over the earth.

It has been satisfactorily established, I believe, that man came into existence in the Indo-Malaysia peninsula, in that belt of the earth where even now the anthropoids survive. Nature's command upon man being Progress, in order that he should progress rapidly she had to get him over the whole earth, in many and various places, upon many differing surface conformations, situations and climates. where he would gain a multitudinous variety of experiences, which experiences he would impart to his fellows through communication; for in order that Progress be ultimately effective, contact of mind with mind is absolutely necessary.

Now, if it had been the law with man at his birth spot, eating wild food, that wild food should have increased as rapidly as population increased, it is clear that he never would have left that spot; and it is also clear that he would never have exerted his mind to produce food artificially; hence he would never have arisen out of savagery. But the sixth law existed, and man, to get food, went over the earth as a hunter, following food animals, in the Paleolithic or early stone age.

And had the law been that as soon as his food supply began to give out in consequence of the sixth law, man's mind had been bright, apt and ready to turn promptly to artificial propagation of food, so that he would always have kept his food supply ahead of his numbers, under these circumstances also he would never have left his natal site. His population would have expanded as a cluster spreading from a single spot. Clearly this condition would not have been conducive to enlargement of his mind. Had this been the arrangement his mind must have advanced with extreme slowless. The earth in its wide reaches, filled with possibilities and potentialities for his rapid mental growth, must have remained unpeopled; it would have been to him always a region of hobgoblins and demons, a fearful outer limbo, as distance always was with early man.

But man's mind moved by paths of least resistance; it was easier for him to chase animals than to invent ways for artificially propagating food. The unfoldment of his mind was gradual. His population increased proportionately faster than his mind enlarged, faster even than he dispersed and moved over the earth-faster, also, than his population could be reduced by natural enemies, even such enemy as pestilence, whose quality it was to occur but rarely. So, then. we see that if there had not been some check provided by Nature upon population, holding population down to give the mind a chance to unfold, man must have eaten up the wild food supply, even though that food supply be that of the whole earth. And when he had done so, not knowing how to reproduce food, his numbers would have been held back by famine, by natural dearth; and natural dearth, differing as it does from artificial dearth, affects everyone in the community; even the strong cannot store food and successfully hold it against the multitude; the household of the Nabob suffers for food as does the hovel of the pariah. Under such an arrangement man would have been always in famine; in famine men cannot think; without thought they cannot progress; and so the first law of Nature could not have been obeyed. But it was through Nature's provision of the fifth law (destruction of the human by the human) that man was saved from famine. War—and early man was always in a state of war—cut back population, and held the stock of the wild food for the survivors. These were thus kept well nourished and in full health so that thought, under the spur of human enemies, might be stimulated and progress continue.

Man went over the earth twice—first as savage, second as civilized man. The first migration was produced by the sixth law, the second by the seventh law.\* His spread over the earth as savage had several consequences; among these he provided civilized man a chapter for his study of spontaneous savage and barbarous life, a vast region of knowledge indispensable to sociology of today, enabling us to comprehend the Divine scheme of things. But possibly the greatest consequence of his spread as savage was the necessity of war for civilized man when he should arrive. Nature never relaxed her hold upon the human for an instant; he was under constant prod of fear of his life; this was a spur that moved him on.

Such physical stimuli with the animal man was necessary. It is, indeed, only now, at his present stage of culture, that this drive on his body may be withdrawn and the lash of war laid aside. Man has now reached the state in his career where he may progress without war, where pursuit of self-interest, idealism, and even moral conceptions, will move him forward. Having reached this stage, war must disappear. But interest and idealism would have been inef-

\* As the office of the sixth law was to spread savage man over the earth, so the office of the seventh law was to settle up the earth with civilized man. With these two ends achieved, the respective laws become inoperative—that is, the sixth law has long since been inoperative, and the seventh law will begin to become inoperative now that the earth is settled up by civilized man, as soon as the proper sociological system is introduced. For it is obvious, as I say, that had there not been this pressure upon the mind of increasing population, driving it to unfold itself to higher ways of industry, civilized man would not have gone over the earth, but would have remained on the site where he came forth. His society would always have been able to have fed all its units from the same area of land, and there would have been no need for anyone to have left that society and gone abroad to find subsistence, since there would at all times have been abundance at home.

With the natural system introduced, or what I call the Call System, the pressure of increasing population to unfold the mind will be relieved; for under that system there will come a time when population will not increase, hence there could not be such pressure. The mind, then, will continue to unfold, not by being driven, but by being induced. It will be a drawing of the mind forward, not pushing it forward as now, the incentives to its enlargement being idealism and self interest, influences which present only rudimentary appeal to men on the physical plane.

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fective in the past. Early man had no aspirations, no ambitions, no ideals calling forth his exertions. Had not nature bombarded his body with continuous assault, he would not have put forth energy.<sup>†</sup> She furnished an impact upon his mind to unfold. She did this by increasing his population faster than his wild food increased, and faster than his mind unfolded in initiative. Starting with a family of a few individuals in a single locality, his number now exceeds a billion and seven hundred millions, and he has spread from the parent district over the entire earth. The process was a pressure of increasing population against the mind, and this is the key to the evolution of civilization.

<sup>†</sup> The indisposition of primitive man to mental activity may be remarked in the habits of any of the surviving aborigines. Take, for instance, the Seris among the natives of Australia. Says a recent writer: "The food habits of the Seri tribe are strikingly like those of

"The food habits of the Seri tribe are strikingly like those of the lower animals; after gorging on quarry, or carrion, or cactus fruits in season, the tribesmen lie about sluggishly until spurred by sheer hunger to search for another supply; there is no knife sense, while the few crude implements are actual or symbolized animal organs; and there is a strong repugnance to take quarry with artificial devices."

### CHAPTER II.

## THE RISE OF CIVILIZATION.

## The Artificial Propagation of Food—Movement from the Hunter to the Herder to the Farmer—What Civilization Is—Impossibility of Stamping it Out or of Throwing it Back—How the Nation Evolved—The King and the Priest—Their Absolute Character and the Need by Early Civilization of Their Respective Offices.

Affected by the sixth law (that population increases faster than wild food replenishes) and unconsciously acting under the seventh law (that population tends to increase faster than the mind unfolds to provision), those earliest men, whose food supply tended to give out, and who had not emigrated, turned towards artificial reproduction of their food supply. This propagation of food was very elementary; it consisted simply of holding on to certain selected food animals, herbivorae, and grazing them. This required the domestication not only of the breeds herded, but of those necessarily employed for mounts. We do not know what animal was first tended; it may have been the sheep, the animal of slow movement that would graze in droves, and which might be looked after by persons on foot. In any event, man stepped out of savagery into barbarism through becoming a herder. The herd segregated men distinctly into tribes. The bunch of animals became the property of the family, and related it to a designated domain or territorial tract, which was the grazing ground of the herd. If a stranger with his herd encroached upon this area, it was a cause for war. Here we have the nebulous beginnings of political boundaries. Where the growth of grass was sufficient in all seasons to sustain the herd, the range was held jealously by the tribe.

The grass, however, becoming exhausted in one place, drove the people from spot to spot over a region more or less wide; but when scarcity of grazing ground ensued, there was what always exists in scarcity—a fruitful and necessary cause for war. War, then, accompanied man in barbarism just as it did constantly in savagery.

As a herder man was moved to observe food plants, and as the country into which out of the semi-tropic belt his increase of population pushed him was semi-arid, his next development from breeding animals through grazing the natural grass was to artificially produce grass for their sustenance; his first step was to control his food supply by controlling the animals, his next step was to control the food supply of the beasts. This latter carried him upon the spots of moist lands, the deltas of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile, already indeed furnishing grasses which yielded grain, thus suggesting artificial reproduction of the plants.

It was the change from the wandering life of the herder to the settled existence of the agriculturist that produced civilization, and this civilization arose through the division of labor, or co-operation of the several individuals in the task of using the earth to get livings.

This co-operation was made necessary by the increase of population. Once brought together into tribes, forming upon the basis of the family, cemented by the herd into fixed tribal life, and then settling upon a plot of moist land, the tendency was to try to make the tribal plot support all members of the group. In this endeavor facilities naturally came forth for the farmer, enabling him to produce Instead of a stick to stir the soil, he was given a more effecmore. tive and durable bronze tool; and we have therefore the rudiments of mining and metallurgy; this also necessitated exchange, and we have the first merchant. The existence of these occupations also compelled transportation, which necessitated beasts of burden, packs and, later, vehicles, with establishments for their manufacture. In other words, we see that as population increases the minds of the social units must rise to higher ways of co-operation in the use of the earth to feed themselves, which has been formulated as the seventh law.

Upon the limited tract of moist bottom there was no room for the cousin of the farmer to settle on a lot of his own; and as the lot of the farmer would produce no more than was necessary for his own sustenance and that of his wife and children who labored with him, but for some other influence the cousin must have starved. However, he made a tool which, passing to the farmer, enabled the latter to increase the productivity of his land, so that he had a surplus of food which he could give to the tool maker, who thereby was provisioned. The creation of the tool expressed a rise of the mind, an engendering of initiative, the effecting of a higher way of cooperating, unit with unit, as population increased. It is exceedingly necessary for human society that this law have free scope and play. and that its operation is checked by barriers placed upon it by the State is the cause of war. If the cousin mentioned above had not been permitted to co-operate, he would have become an outcast and a potential enemy.

Keeping, then, this law in mind, we have a definition of civili-

zation: It is the culture necessary to enable men to co-operate in ever higher ways, whereby a larger number may be provisioned from the same area of land, which without such culture would feed only a smaller number.

We see the operation of this seventh law expressed by the map of these ancient valleys I have named. Population soon outgrew the moist delta lands, and forced the artificial watering of the dry lands adjacent to the rivers; so that there followed systems of irrigation; this engineering was initiative, coming forward in response to the pressure of increased population. There had been found in irrigation works a higher means of co-operating the social units, since as population increased there was an increased number who must be allowed to contribute to industry or starve.

The natural tendency of the mind to quiescence would have disposed it to inertia had there not been present the drive of nature upon the physical, spurring the mind to activity, to which spur it would respond in obedience to the third law, the preservation of self. So we find these people, settled in these two valleys upon their small plots of land, ferociously assailed by the denizens of the surrounding deserts—the herders from the highlands. The incentive to these raids was mere robbery. Food was always scarce on the deserts; there was often a surplus in the lowlands. The marauders were moved to prey on the peoples below to get their food, their personal property, and their lands.

To defend against these attacks not only were the valley peoples impelled to devise arms, tools, accoutrements, to construct buildings, walls, forts, etc., so impelling the mind to initiative, but they were forced to unite their strength, tribe with tribe, in order that those in a similar situation—i. e., the valley settlers—might front a common peril with a unified resistance.

This required a higher degree of political organization than existed either with the family on the nome or the agricultural tribe, which, while tending to segregation and individualism, was in the beginning more or less communal. In this consolidation of these tribes for defense, we have therefore the formation of the nation, the change from the barbarous chief to the king, and the creation of the civilized State.

The effect of these wars, as of all wars, was to cut back population, to hold the number of people within the power of the land to feed them in proportion to the knowledge which they possessed; and it was also to weed out the weaker peoples and preserve the strong. For thousands of years civilized mankind struggled with these natural forces in this very region of the Mediterranean, coming slowly forward, spreading gradually his culture to the west and north, always under the prod of war, waged not alone by barbaric but by civilized peoples into which stage the barbarians from place to place were constantly growing. Whenever a civilized nation became decadent—through the operation of the Protective Spirit, just as nations tend to decadence now—it was wiped out by a stronger people, oftimes a people of less culture. The barbarians from the plains and hills kept the early civilized nations in constant peril, requiring a continuous display of strength to drive them back. This influence consolidated, not only groups into nations, but it coalesced nations to increase the power of civilization that it might be preserved; so that we find the early civilized world unified in empires built by conquerors who, starting with the Sumerian king on the Tigris delta and moving through the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Greek, the Roman, the Saracen, the Spaniard, held civilization together, and pushed it ever onward.

It was impossible to stamp civilization out. Its very enemies promoted it. The civilized conquerer absorbed into the body of his nation peoples of the subdued tribes whom he sold as slaves; while the barbaric victor, though he razed cities and massacred their inhabitants, selected the best of the women and the ablest of the men and sent them as prizes to his capitals. So planted amongst the alien people they became so many foci of culture, lifting their barbaric captors towards civilization.

Amongst the early peoples the king was absolute over the lives and property of his subjects. As the important matter in the society was to preserve it against surrounding enemies, the king was the man best able to wage war. Wherever this strong man was in the community, he inevitably moved to the fore. In other words, in a stage of development where man generally could not obey law, what little initiative there was toward order and economic welfare of the people lay in the strongest hands and was backed by the force the State.

The office of the king was essentially military and his dispositions were often harsh and tyrannous. But beside him stood the priest, drawing his powers from the unseen, holding men to lines of behavior based upon fear of physical destruction, behind which were concepts of conscience, in a society where rules of conduct had not evolved into ordinances of the State. The power of the priest compassed the king himself and tended to hold him within bounds, where otherwise there would not have been even slight restraint. Religion, whatever the god, always leaned towards mercy, towards care for the weak and poor, and this was predicated upon something approximating equality of souls. The priesthood were also the patrons of learning, of domestic arts, and of the sciences, with which matters the State had little to do other than to dominate the priests.

Both of these institutions, the despotic State and the autocratic Church, were necessary and fitted to the stage of development of the race mind. Without their aids man could never have progressed. Nature, compelling him with forces which he could not escape, pushing onward his spiritual unfoldment, was aided by authority among the peoples themselves, concentrated in those selected hands who could most efficiently wield it towards his advancement.

### CHAPTER III.

# THE BASIC NATURAL RIGHTS.

From Each Natural Law Issues a Natural Right—The Rights Are the Equal Possession of All Men—They Existed in Savagery as in Civilization—Nature's Command Upon the Human to Use the Earth as the Means of His Subsistence—The Problem of Society is Subsistence—Use of the Earth Implies Its Efficient or Orderly Use—Society is Using Only Forty per Cent of Its Useful Land.

Only by virtue of laws do rights exist. There can be no right, natural or political, but for the existence of a law out of which the right issues. When, therefore, we find that there are certain basic natural laws, we shall find also that these laws bestow a corresponding number of basic rights. There are, hence, seven such natural rights. When nature decrees that man must progress, man thereby has a right to progress. When it decrees that he must progress through the existence of order, he has a right that order shall exist. When nature ordains that man shall preserve his life, he has a right to preserve his life. When she says he shall propagate his life, he has a right to do so. When she says he may kill the human, he has a right, in defense of his life, or of society, or of the State in war, to do so. When she decrees that population shall increase faster than his wild food supply, he has a right, in the preservation of his life, to move away from the spots of the earth where such law has found expression, and proceed to other places where he may reach food supply; hence, he has a right to migrate or move from place to place over the earth. When nature decrees that population tends to increase more rapidly than the mind unfolds to use the earth to provision him, he has a right that society shall be so adjusted as to allow his mind to arise as population thickens-that is, to allow initiative freely to come forth-so that he may be able to move the earth to give him sustenance, hence to preserve his life, which includes the right to proceed from place to place. This is the right of freedom, which indeed is ancillary to several of the other laws.

These basic natural laws, with their correlative basic natural rights, comprise the canons of sociology upon which the entire science

rests and from which it moves. No science can exist which does not found its structure upon laws of nature, and its entire edifice must be an expression of those laws in the particular field of their operation. Sociology has not pretended hitherto to any basis of natural laws, and has even denied the existence of natural laws. It has therefore not been a science. It has been a sort of philosophy, if it is indeed worthy of any departmentization of thought at all. At most it has been a speculation consisting of "views", notions, theories, mostly false and often pernicious; and where not false, useless in their limited field through failure to rest on the immutable sills of natural law.

As these laws of nature bear upon all humans equally, so are the several rights under them equal. All men, for instance, have an equal right to live. This is manifest, for we can find in nature no law that moves one man to kill another, save, as I have remarked, in defense of his life, in defense of society, as in the execution of a criminal, or in defense of the State, as in war. These all come back to the third law, preservation of the unit. In each of the instances, however, it is the unit himself who forfeits his right to live, and his act or non-act in so doing gives the right to his assailant to destroy him. Death inflicted in self-defense is because the slain would murder his killer. The criminal is gibbeted for his crime; and those who suffer through war do so through their failure to know the laws of nature, obedience to which makes war impossible, and knowing, to move the State which causes their deaths to put them into political effect. The operation of the fifth law-killing of the species -is limited by the second law-order-as one law is hedged and controlled by another law. Man can do no act except in obedience to some law, or to some force which asserts itself over him and moves his conduct. If left to himself, that is if he proceeds through his own volition, he will obey natural law; but he may be constrained to obey political law even where such is in violation of natural law; and he may be also compelled to yield to private force. Nature would not allow man, acting under the fifth law, to run amuck any more than she would permit him to do so under the fourth law - propagation. Man is commanded by this law to and by the sixth and seventh laws the degree of propagate: such propagation is fixed; that is, he must propagate faster than wild food replenishes or his mind tends to provision. If he were not commanded by these latter laws to propagate faster, etc., he would not do so; for if he had any say in the matter himself he would not propagate faster than his food supply came forth to feed himself and offspring. He would at all times have held his numbers within the limits of his subsistence, and had he done so he would have defeated the whole scheme of nature for the progress of the race. At all stages of his culture man has performed the acts commanded by these laws under control of the law of order. Throughout all time there have been individual instances of violation of the law of order in propagation, in killing, in self-preservation and in all the other commands; but all such violations are disorder, and they bring upon the offender their punishments. There has never been, and never can be, universal promiscuity, or universal slaughter, man against man, or universal suicide. When we say, therefore, that men have an equal right to live, since no one has a right to kill another, the statement is not swerved by the fact of people being killed in the three ways we have noted.

The fifth law—destruction of the human by the human—would move men to wantonly kill each other, if it were permitted, but it is not. If it were so permitted it would operate, not to drive man into association with his kind, but to isolate him from them. There is such a law operating in one wild species towards another—in the dog towards the rabbit. Here, as we elsewhere remark, the influence is to hold the numbers of one species in check through the enmity of another species. It also furnishes an added bar to that of sterility to keep the species separate in order that the organic movement might not go backward through coalescence, but must go ever forward through differentiation until, as we have remarked, it ceased in man.

This fifth law would become manifest in man just as it does in the dog towards the rabbit but for the checking influence of the fourth law—the propagating one's life—which in savage man destroyed its influence in his attitude towards his female and his own blood.\* Out of this fourth law has grown all those amenities and all that moral sensitiveness which enables men, though strangers, to dwell in the presence of each other in civilization. Thus we see here seven elementary rights, and they are equal rights. It is not true, therefore, as we find taught in the schools, that man has in nature no rights, that rights do not exist in savagery, that only through the organized State can rights arise; that rights are "given" —that is, bestowed— by the State, which is assumed to be the source of rights. This doctrine is wholly wrong. Man's rights are derived from nature, and the office of the State is merely to defend him in their exercise, an office which in savagery he performs himself, but

<sup>\*</sup> The law operates but imperfectly in species below man. Swine sometimes eat their offspring, and male lions have been known to eat their mates, the motive of these acts being not enmity, but food:

which in civilization is passed over to the State, whereby he may more fully pursue the operations of his economic existence—in other words, become more highly co-operative.

In savagery all men were on the defensive. They killed the stranger under the fifth law,\* because both being strange the other

\* Question may arise as to whether the fifth law is in fact a law; as to whether it is any different from any of those emotions which the third or the fourth law employ to effect their ends, such as hunger or the sexual awakening. If the killing of the human by the human was altogether directed, in the eyes of the killer, to preserve his life, and such were the full consequences of the act, it would be a quality not different from hunger, which, though he does not know it, moves the hungered to defend his life which, though he does not know it, moves the hungered to detend his life by taking food. But while the killing of the human by the human has un-questionably reference to preserving the unit, yet it operates far different from the principle of self defense. Savages are always on the defensive, yet it is not always in self defense that the savage kills. He kills as sport; he hunts the human for food—nay, neither the quality of self interest nor passion may enter into the act. Treitschke tells us that the very glory of war abides in the fact that the soldier kills without ill feeling towards the chain. The general of the army does not even know the persons where the slain. The general of the army does not even know the persons whom. through his directions, are destroyed, and the executioner hangs the culprit merely because of the accident of his holding office. Clearly the inherent natural quality through which these persons perform their several acts is different from that which evokes me to save my life by stepping aside from the track of an approaching train. Yet these doers unquestionably per-form their acts in obedience to some law, and to some end, else the acts kill the human, through the faculty, the power, to do so, an endowment that does not reside in many species, who are utterly unable to destroy their own species. It is not the law among the bovines that the cow kill the cow, or the bull the bull. If, then man is so endowed, he was not thus empowered for nothing. Nature intended that he should use that power to some end. And when we look to what occurs when he does use it, we see that population is thereby reduced; and when we inquire what end is thus served by so reducing population, we find that individuals are struck down in health, as a result of which in savagery the stock of wild food, which otherwise would be eaten up by increasing population, and which he would not know how artificially to reproduce, is held for the survivors; and in civilization the work in society is so held, and there is more land in the antion for the curvivers. In other word, in the result in the nation for the survivors. In other words, in the presence of the sixth and seventh laws, man would sink in famine were there not some check provided upon his increasing numbers, until his mind rises to know how to use the earth to feed in comfort all his units. In the beast world this check upon population is provided by one species upon another. To some extent, while man is in savagery, beasts operate through attacks upon him to hold down his numbers; but the real object of Nature in laying him open to such assailants is not to hold back his numbers, for if it were such species would continue to exercise such power over him, but to stir his mind to rise to means to overcome such enemies, which he ultimately does. The human, therefore, has no beast species for his decimation. He is above all other species. Hence the task of holding down his population

might otherwise kill him. The hunting of man by man, however done, whether as sport or quarry, as we have remarked elsewhere, was what is called today a "defensive offensive".

Rights in savagery are elemental and are instinctively asserted and defended. If I have a right under the third law to live, and that right is equal since no one has a right to kill me, then, requiring sustenance to live, I have a right to procure sustenance. This right is exercised under the seventh law, in that it expresses itself in the forward effort of the mind in society, or in emigrating. It is the right to freedom. For if anyone can forbid me from pursuing the path which my mind directs in the procurement of subsistence, or to leave one country and enter another, so long as in so doing I do not trespass upon the rights of another, then I am not free, but am a slave to the one who thus forbids me. He may strike away my life by denying to me my freedom in my endeavor to procure my food supply. And since all property is merely accumulated exertion

to prevent it from becoming greater than the earth moved by the existing stage of his knowledge can feed, is reposed in man himself; and this finds expression in what I call the fifth law. The fact that the operation of one law may fall under the influence of another law does not make the first any the less a law. Each of six of these laws contribute to progress, but to say that there was no other law than progress would make it impossible to develop a science of sociology.

It should be remarked also that there are three of these seven laws which become inoperative with the rise of the mind-that is, man no longer feels their effects. Just as we noted, that as the organic scale was ascended, forms entered the field of laws which did not affect lower forms, so as the mind arises it loses the effect of laws which direct it upon lower The sixth law, while it still exists and will always exist, does not planes reach civilized man. The population of savage man still increases faster than wild food reproduces, but civilized man reproduces wild food to so ample an extent that, as tamed or domesticated organisms, he controls its supply. So with the fifth law. Cultured man revolts at the thought of destroying another, and will exert himself to allay physical suffering in others. He would not visit such pain even upon his enemies. We find this quality of compassion moving people by millions, backed by almost unlimited funds, to stop war by suppressing it, because its quality is to kill. How a beast, and who revels in the agonies which he inflicts upon his captives. So with the seventh law; through the joint influence of holding down his increase of population and raising his initiative, man will overcome the influence of this law. The area of the earth which he occupies, which is now its entire surface, will always be able to sustain, in comfort and happiness, his numbers, and there will be no stress nor inducement for him to depart therefrom. This, of course, is possible only under the Call System, which system, however, apparently must be introduced, through the same process which moved emigration—an intolerable sociological condition (now pro-duced by war) and promise of complete relief following the change which the mind is thereby bent to make. See Chapted XV herein.

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which I have in the past employed upon matter, which by matter is recorded and certified, if one shall deprive me of my property, he reaches into my past and deprives me of my freedom, of which the property is the result.

The right of life, the right of freedom, the right of property, were just as clearly pronounced and as vigorously defended in savagery as they are in civilization. The savage man would fight for his life, for his freedom against a possible captor, for the property in the fish or beast he had caught, as men will today combat in the courts, in the business deal, and with just about the same success. For he who successfully defended his rights in savagery was physically strong—that is, best fitted to his environment,—while he who successfully defends his rights in civilization is mentally and morally strong—also best fitted to his environment. In both domains the weak, whether as aggressor or defender, fail and tend to perish.

In the beginning we had man and the earth. As the earth was given to man as the source of his subsistence, there was present a condition laid down by nature that in getting his subsistence he should use the earth. The savage man did this no less than does the civilized man; the pursuit of the deer by the Indian in the task of getting his food is no less a use of the earth than is the plowing of the field by the farmer and planting it to corn.

So, then, in the task of man getting a living, we have the command of nature—use the earth. But its use, of course, must be characterized by obedience to the natural laws we have noted; it must be in recognition of the law of progress, of the law of order, of the law of preservation of life, of propagation of life; in other words, in recognition of the natural rights of man. And as we have seen that man's life is sustained through his freedom, to maintain the possession of which the second law, order, must be obeyed, we then see that man, to possess his right of subsisting, of getting a living, must use the earth in the presence of freedom and order.

And here we have the answer to the question of human society, or what I call the world question, which is:

How may men in society get livings? To which let us repeat the answer:

Use the earth in the presence of freedom and order.

As we have stated, the question does not bear upon the wild man; for him nature feeds through storing his environment with food which he has only to harvest. But the question starts to press upon him as soon as he begins artificially to produce food, for this requires co-operation. So that while it did not exist in the hunter stage, and very imperfectly existed in the herder stage, yet when it came to the settler stage it thenceforth bore on him with the fullness of its pressure; and it has continued to bear upon the human race at all time throughout these thousands of years of its career up to the present hour, for amidst the many obscurities with which nature enwrapped the subject, and which have in this age just been dissolved, the answer could not be seen.

Men do not today know the meaning of the phrase "use the earth." They think they are now using the earth, and have been so using it during all time, yet when we look into it we shall see that they are not.

The earth is divided as to its utilization into two types, viz., land that has value and land that has no value. We use only valuable land. Valueless lands we do not use. They comprise the high mountains, the dry deserts, the swamps, the dense forests, lands arable but remote from society, and so on. These lands are the reserves of society which may be used in future, but are not required now.

When we say use, of course, we mean fully use. The phrase contemplates one hundred per cent use, not slight or imperfect use. The term use the earth, therefore, implies efficient use-that is, fitting use. And we shall see that society does not use the earth fittingly-in other words, efficiently; it uses it wastefully, negligently, improvidently-in a word, disorderly. That is to say, the second law. the law of order, is not obeyed by society in its use of the earth; and here is the trouble with civilization today, the cause of all its disturbances, which we have remarked. For society uses but forty per cent of its value in land; sixty per cent it does not use. This will strike the reader as a quite startling fact—if it be a fact but like all phenomenon in nature which moves from obedience or disobedience to her laws, one has only to open his eyes to see it, as we shall later show.

It has been remarked that "if any man conducted his business as society uses its earth, he would 'bust up' in a month." Society does not "bust up," however, as a result of its violation in its use of the earth of the natural law of order, any more than does the globe fly to pieces when the internal pressure becomes too great; the volcanic vent of society is in war.

#### NOTE.

We can, perhaps, get a better grasp upon these basic natural laws by supposing that at the birth of Adam the Creator had laid down for him a written codification of these laws, as follows:

Section 1: Thou shalt progress. Section 2: Thou shalt proceed with order.

Section 3: Thou shalt preserve thy life.

Section 4: Thou shalt propagate thy life.

Section 5: Thou shalt kill thy species.

Section 6: Thou shalt increase thy numbers faster than the earth can furnish them wild food.

Section 7: Thou shalt tend to increase thy numbers faster than thy mind shall develop to find ways to provision them.

Man does all these acts. Not to the full limit of possibility in any case, but in large degree. They are all laid for man's good, for man's benefit, for preserving him and for advancing him. They are laid with regard to man in all his stages of culture, and are hence applicable to him in his savage state. For this reason the first four laws stand in a group by themselves, and the last three are of a different order. I therefore call the first group immediate and the others mediate laws. Acts done under the first four redound at once to the benefit of the doer; done under the last three the deed as to the doer might seem to be an injury. The good resulting from such injurious act, however, is ultimate, not present. It therefore, while bearing upon the unit, has specific reference not to the unit, but to the race. For if acts under the last three laws were not done by man in the stage of his mental development where the laws are effective, man would never rise out of savagery, and he could not be preserved—not in numbers, for in savagery the earth will feed only a very limited number.

These mediate laws stand as laws somewhat similar to the case of a fire chief who is placed by the mayor in his position to preserve intact the buildings of a city. If we shall fancy the mayor directing this chief to demolish a row of buildings, and this chief, not knowing of the existence of the fire in whose path toward the heart of the city the buildings stood, should perform the act, we should then have the case of one doing a seemingly evil thing, yet thereby producing a condition which is the purpose of the mandate, to-wit, preserving intact the buildings of the city—all that could be preserved. If, in other words, we shall place this mayor in the position of Nature, he sacrifices the unit to preserve the race. For this chief, in destroying the buildings, would be only operating to obey the mandate directing him to destroy them. What the order would really comprise would be: "Chief, preserve the city. To do this, destroy yon row of buildings." The chief would fully obey this order if he could preserve intact the city without destroying the row of buildings. He would do so in the manner of nature if he preserved intact the city while unconscious of the existence of the fire.

So with man under these fifth, sixth and seventh laws. He is commanded to do certain acts in order that the race may be preserved and progress. When he does these acts it is with reference to the condition which is the object of their performance. He fully obeys the laws only when he possesses the condition without performing the deeds. In other words, when he is in perfect harmony with the laws-where the laws do not compel him to do painful acts; that is, where he exists in that state which it is the object of the laws that he shall attain. Then he does not feel the effects of these laws; he has grown to be above the operations of the laws. To a man who obeys a law the law might as well be repealed. It is in fact repealed so far as he goes. When a law comes to be obeyed it loses its effect. There is no longer need for its existence. It falls into abeyance and is to all intents and purposes repealed. If the people of California were so spiritually organized that they could not commit murder, the law against homicide would become obsolete, and an obsolete statute is no longer valid. Insofar as I am concerned, the law of murder of California might as well

be repealed. I am wholly oblivious to the existence of such a law. Yet I may have had ancestors to whom the presence of this law might have been very necessary for the progress and preservation of the race.

Had the laws been formulated in writing the immediate laws would have stood as mere mandatory enactments, viz.:

Section 1. "It shall be the duty of all persons to preserve their lives."

Section 2. "Any person offending against the provisions of this act shall die."

But the mediate laws would each have been preceded by a preamble and coupled with a proviso. The sixth law, for instance, would have started off something like this:

"Whereas there has been created the human being, Section 1. for whose residence and benefit the earth was heretofore created and supplied with its several forms of life: and

'Whereas by laws heretofore duly enacted it has been commanded that said human being shall progress and in that behalf shall proceed orderly, to which end he shall preserve his life and proopagate his

"Whereas the said human being is now of such mental state and lack of mental growth as that he is unable to obey the said laws if left to the dictates and guidance of his own mind, and it is hence necessary that matters be so adjusted concerning him that he be made to obey the said command of progress (obedience to which includes obedience to each of the other said laws) without his conscious performance thereof, but in the doing of such things as may be closest to him and which he is thereof moved to do; and

"Whereas it is necessary to the end of preserving and effecting the progress of the said human that he be distributed over the entire of said earth; now, therefore, in order to compel the said human to proceed in part of his numbers from the spot of his birth to other spots and thence onward from place to place over the earth until the entire earth is settled with his species,

"It is hereby decreed and enacted that:

Section 1. "The said human shall propagate his kind to a greater extent than on the site or immediate neighborhood of such propagation wild food shall come forth to nourish them;

"Provided, however, that from and after the time when the mind of the said human shall have risen to knowledge of ways whereby to artificially produce and increase his food supply, this act shall become void and of non effect.

"Section 2. The said human failing to perform according to the provisions of this act shall remain in savagery and in perpetual war." And so as to each of the other mediate laws, for the exposition of which

in this form see Volume I of the large work.

Let us now ask, since the objects of these three laws are a condition— preservation and progress of the race—if it would not be proper to say: "man shall progress and man shall preserve his life," stating the ultimate ends as laws, rather than the three means mentioned whereby these ends are attained? If we did this, then again, as I have before remarked, we should have to abolish as laws everything else than progress, for all laws draw into this, and our whole sociology would become meaningless.

Nor can it be said that because each of the laws draws into porgress that progress alone is basic, and the others, while laws, are not basic. For man the law which preserves him in existence, are no less basic than progress. And, as he could not have existed in numbers without the operation of the fifth, sixth and seventh laws, these are no less basic than the third law.

The laws are such because they direct human conduct. They are not conditions, which are the results of the operations of laws. Laws actuate human conduct—move or restrain it; in other words, govern it. Whereas conditions are the objects which laws aim to attain. But a law may present a condition as well as a law. Progress, for instance, is the result of the operation of laws, and is also itself a law, bearing as it does upon human conduct, and directing the human forward. These seven basic laws are so enumerated because they comprise all the basic laws of human society, and their number cannot be either enlarged or lessened. Every other natural law and condition in human society issues out of them, or is a consequence of them.

# CHAPTER IV.

# THE STATE AND THE SOCIAL VALUE

The Definition of Value — Value the Basis of Co-operation — The Two Hemispheres of Value—The Quality of the Unit Value— Social Value Arises Through the Unconscious Act of the Maker of Unit Value—Order as an Ingredient of the Value of Land— The State's Sole Duty to Maintain Order—The Ten Charges of the State—Its Failure to Enforce Orderly Use of the Earth— The Enormous Volume of Unused Social Value in Society.

Here, then, we have certain planes of human movement proceeding along lines of natural law. Population increases faster than wild food, forcing the mind to initiative in enlarging the food supply. The mind, however, while it yields in the direction of increasing the food supply, does not do so sufficiently to keep pace with increasing population, so many units are forced to emigrate-pushed onward from their native heaths over the earth. Notwithstanding these movements, population still comes forward, faster than either the mind can rise to feed or emigration relieve, and famine would ensue but for the office of the fifth law, which cuts back population in war and so keeps the stock of food in savagery, or the herd in barbarity, or the work or land in civilization, for the survivors. This fifth law has two influences aside from its direct operation-it drives the mind forward in scheming ways for the unit to defend himself so he may hold on to his life (third law), and it produces, along with the general economic pressure, an intolerable state of society from which, in civilization, people seek to escape through emigration. This economic pressure, as I remark, arises under the seventh law. As population increases, initiative must ever more and more arise and go forward, and this is effected through co-operation.

But in order for men to co-operate there is an essential which must be present, and that is value. Value is the basis of co-operation. And what is value? It is the presence in a material or service of the power to gratify a desire and to call for an exchange.

In other words, the term value contemplates another than the owner. Value is not utility, for a thing may be very useful to me, but have no power to call for an exchange; and it may be wholly useless to another, yet be able to gratify his desire. He may pass a check for a thing which pleases him for the moment, but which he may never use, and may never even see or get possession of, though he have its title. Power to gratify a desire and to call for an exchange must both be present, else there is no value. This old-fashioned churn in our farm house fills our household uses, but it is out of date; it would not "pay" to make butter with it for the market. It has power to gratify a desire, for it satisfies us, but not to call for an exchange. It has no value.

Seeing, then, that value is the basis of co-operation, we find in society two kinds of value, comprising two distinct zones, or hemispheres, of value, this variance being due to the manner of their origin—the first being **unit value** and the second **social value**. The first is the value of the thing or service, and the second the value of land.

The value of the **thing** or **service** is the product of the intentional, purposeful and conscious act of the unit. He knows when he makes the thing, where he makes it, knows where it is and when it is made, and, by computing its cost, he can determine its value. This value can be made non co-operatively—that is, without the presence of society—though, of course, it is usually made in the presence of society. I may successfully make unit value, household turniture, for instance, in the fastness of the Sierra Nevadas, utterly alone, and many miles from society. But while I might make there a thousand chairs and tables, my doing so and in such place under such conditions would not create a penny of value upon the land about me.

For the value of land, or the social value, can only be made by the unit in co-operation with society. It is made by the unit while he is making the unit value—the thing or service. He makes it unconsciously. He does not know when he makes any part of it, does not know how much of it he has made, or that he has made any of it, and when made he does not know where it is.

The unit value therefor I call the objective value, and the social value the subjective value.

Suppose, for instance, I made ten thousand chairs and tables in the Sierras. I have created unit value, and I ship these articles to San Francisco and receive three dollars apiece for them. I haul them to the railroad station and deliver them, and then my work is done; my unit value has been made, and I have invested the goods with a power to create social value as soon as the goods are acted upon by others, who thereby themselves also create social value. The railroad hauls the furniture; it is consciously acting upon unit value; but its doing so enables the railroad to confer social value on lands adjacent to the right-of-way and of the whole community. The same phenomenon occurs when the warehouseman acts; also the teamster, the merchant, the owners of halls, and the householders, who buy the goods for consumption. Each and all of these social units produce social value through acting upon goods which originated with me; in making the goods I also produced social value, though that social value did not become effective until the goods were further acted upon by others. What the effect of my creations has been is that by my act society was rendered more co-operative than it was before. All effort of the unit which generates social value is just that thing. It is a contribution to the higher co-operative efficiency of society.

Mr. Edison brings forward the electric light; society, the aggregate of the social units, is made more efficient. So with the automobile, so with this fountain pen with which I am writing, and the typewriter whereby my cryptogramatic chirography is made intelligible to the printer—all effort that creates and deposits value upon land is simply the unit pressing forward under the pressure of the seventh law, so that initiative, as population increases, constantly arises.

The value of land, or the social value, therefor, is that potential deposited by the co-operative efficiencies of the units of society in land, the deposition transpiring through creation of things or rendition of service, whereby land is empowered to enable its user to serve society in a more effective way than he could do without it.

The land, we note, does not receive its potential from the individual user. It was in the land when the user came. If it received it from the user I would have been able to confer value upon my land in the Sierras. The value is deposited by the several units in society, through their respective efficiencies, creating unit value and effecting co-operation therewith. But the potentiality in the land must be complemented by a potentiality in the unit to use the land. And this positive potentiality in the unit must be sufficiently high to fully respond to the negative potentiality in the land, else the full volume of social value in the land will not be used. It will fail to enable that unit to serve society to the full measure of power that it could enable another and more fitting unit to put forth. So we see that the very use of the social value involves co-operation. I can use the unit value alone-this dish of food I can eat myself. I have no use for society in the process. But I cannot use social value alone. I may use land alone, as I in fact did in the Sierras, and as I may do yonder on that vegetable patch in the solitude at the edge of the desert river. But if I use social value, it must be in co-operation with society.

Co-operation, therefore, being essential to engender the social value, as the social value enables its user better to co-operate, there enters into its composition another ingredient, which is **order**. Unless order be present men cannot co-operate. With **disorder** co-operative efficiency lowers, and co-operation may disappear—in such case the social value disappears. Where disturbance is such that men are not secure in their possession of property, where they cannot trust each other and hence will not work for each other, where life is not safe from murder or assault, there will be no social value. Hence we see the existence of order is requisite to the existence of the social value.

Now the order requisite to enable society to be co-operative is in charge of the State, or what we call "the government". The State is the organ of society whose function it is to maintain order. The existence of the State is based on the second law—order. Order would not exist without the presence of a power laying down lines of conduct of men towards each other and compelling obedience thereto by force. Without order men could not dwell in numbers in the presence of each other; and as nature, through increasing births faster than deaths, clearly demands that man shall so live, the State hence becomes a natural creation. Its purpose is to enable men to sustain themselves from the earth, thereby to obey the first law—Progress.

The State is not now understood. It is commonly believed to be an instrument to be used by some to give themselves privileges against others. Again it is believed to be the proper operator of industry, having for its purpose (a) to supplement citizen monopoly with State monopoly, and (b) to employ the people through conducting industry. Its office is neither of these aspects. It has one sole function—that is, to maintain order.

For the State to enter the field of industry and oust the citizen from it in competition or to deny him access to it through monopoly—for in the end the citizen finds he cannot compete with the State in industry— is to deny him his right, and to make of the State a tyrant. So when the State becomes his employer in utilitarian industry, it thereby gains ascendancy over him in both his political and economic existence For if the State may properly engage in one utilitarian industry, it may conduct all such industry, it would then become the sole employer of the people. In this position it would be the sole source of the people earning livings. In the conduct of industry it is necessary to discipline those who co-operate, either by withholding business or discharging the employee, but the State, unlike the employer, cannot do this. The State as the sole operator of business could not discharge the employee, since if it did so it must then feed him in idleness, for the State is charged with the duty of not permitting the citizen to starve, because this is disorder. Bereft, therefore, of the power of discharge as a means of discipline, the State must otherwise regiment the refactory employee. She must do it with the prison or the lash. In other words, as an employer in utilitarian industry, she returns to the domain of the despotic State.

The citizen effects co-operation with the citizen through agreement, and this agreement ought to be, and under what I term the Call System would be, moved by the free will of the citizen. The only way that unit can act with unit in co-operation is by agreement. He cannot use force. When the citizen needs use force against the citizen he must appeal to the State. The State can respond upon only one condition—that a wrong has been done him. Such wrong may be either an act or threat of an act, but it is requisite that in order for the State to move a right of the citizen must have been violated.

The position of the State is to hold a balance between the citizens. The citizen has all rights up to where their exercise trenches upon like rights of his neighbor. At this point stands the State, with the duty to define and enforce these rights. For as the State is itself defined and hedged by a written constitution which determines its scope and powers, so is the field of the citizen defined and hedged by written laws which the State itself cannot refuse to administer justly.

As the citizen can only act by agreement, so the State can only act by commands. The force which the State exercises is the force of society—the collective physical exertion of the aggregate of the social units. The State has no right to agree with its citizens. It may agree with those beyond its jurisdiction, as citizens of foreign States or such States themselves; for these it may not command. But within its own domain its position is one of force.

And the reason for this is that agreement often implies the waiving by the party of some right in order to reach an adjustment; whereas the State, acting with force, and the exercise of the force being rigidly defined by written law, the State can trespass upon no right of the citizen. So as laws must be just, the dealings of the State with the citizen must be precisely just.

When, therefore, we find the State in positions of exacting agreements with the citizens, as the Departments of Labor bringing about "conciliations" between employer and employee, "making them agree", or engaged in utilitarian industry which rests essentially upon agreement, the State is acting out of its sphere. It is trespassing upon the rights of the citizens. Nor does the fact that we find the State a purchaser of services or supplies from the citizen alter its status as a user of force and the issuer of orders. How the State may proceed about enforcing its commands is a matter for its determination. It may requisition the goods or services and pay the server a sum fixed by a jury; or it may advertise for bids and fix the sum it shall pay in such manner. In either event, when it has selected the thing or service it commands its delivery. The citizen may not refuse to comply.

The State cannot take anything from the citizen without paying him a just sum therefor. Having the social value for its support, it does not need to do so; but even if it did, to take from the citizen without compensation would be compelling such person to pay more than his just share for the support of the State.

Having as its sole function and duty the maintenance of order, we find the State in its field in the exercise of ten charges. These are:

- (1) Orderly use of the earth.
- (2) Policing.
- (3) Administration of justice.
- (4) Defense against fire and other public perils.
- (5) Public health.
- (6) Public highways.
- (7) Public education.
- (8) Issuance of certificates—i. e., measures of value (money), measures of commodities (weights, lengths, containers), tables, time, etc.
- (9) Intercourse with foreign nations.
- (10) Defense against invasion.

The State in this last charge will become functus officio when the Call System is introduced, for war then will not be able to arise; hence invasion could not occur. Nevertheless, the duty will always remain in the category of offices of the State.

The State being a natural creation, nature provides for it a pabulum, since nature engenders nothing for which she does not furnish sustenance, however strange to us the fitting nutriment may be. The State, a natural body in society, albeit it is abstract, has for its sustenance a volume of nourishment, alike abstract, in the social value. Wonderful indeed is the cunning with which Nature has arranged this. It is a provision wholly the State's own, which man in society makes without knowing it, to take which takes from him nothing, but to the contrary vastly enlarges his powers of creating wealth, and which even enormously compensates and rewards those who stewardize it and pay it to the State. In this respect, it possesses the peculiar quality of thought—it is given without loss to the giver; the giving of it is attended with an increase of the volume which the giver holds. There is, indeed, in all the realm of nature nothing more wonderful than her creation of the State and her provisioning it with the social value.

We have seen that the command of nature upon the human, whereby he may derive his subsistence and so obey the laws of preserving his life and progressing, is to use the earth; so also is the command present under the second law to use the earth orderly. To use the earth orderly it must be used with reference to the extent of the co-operative potentiality which it contains—or, in other words, its value. And, as I have said, to use it, means full effective or efficient use—not partial, ineffective and desultory use.

Orderly use of this million dollar vacant lot across the way from where I write is not growing potatoes upon it, but erecting a twelve-story building on it. Nor is the lot next door, covered with a one-story building, an orderly use of that lot. Yesterday, riding through the San Joaquin Valley, I passed many acres of level lands, amidst green alfalfa fields, where dairying was the industry, planted with eucalyptus trees; while the surrounding hills, where alfalfa could not fittingly grow, but which would grow trees, were barren. Yonder to the south lies a district of walnuts, where land bears a value of a thousand dollars per acre, and in the midst of them there were large acreages of barley hay. The adjacent hills, where hay might fittingly grow, were dotted with chaparal and covered with weeds. But we need not confine our observations of this phenomenon to California; we find it perhaps equally as bad in every city and country in the world. Remark the sky line of New York City from the harbor, and note the varying heights of the buildings constructed upon land all of about the same value. We see everywhere enormous gaps, spaces where the social value is not used. I heard an investigator from Chicago recently assert that in that city sixtyfive lots out of every hundred were idle; while, of course, most of the land that was in use was not fittingly used.

I have computed, from such inquiries as I have been able to make, that society uses the social value to but forty per cent. The estimate is not very reliable. There exists no official or quasi-official data upon it. No government pretends to know. No chamber of commerce—those institutions so prolific in making surveys—has ever surveyed this. Such investigations as I have found possible rests upon walking along city streets and noting the improvements, and the study of photographs of cities and countries all over the world. My computation, therefore, has no pretense to accuracy; nevertheless of one fact I stand very sure—that is, that the use by society of the social value is not over forty per cent; my opinion is that it is much less. Even this volume, as I show in the next chapter, has reference to the proportion of the surface of valuable land that is used, rather than to the full and fitting use of that surface. There is a margin of non-use of the land that is fully used, which brings the true use of the social value much below forty per cent.

Of the volume of social value in society we may be more accurate. In this region we can get some assistance from the figures of assessors. In California, for instance, with a population of 2,-377,549, the efficiency value of land was \$2,725,416,466, or \$1150\* per unit of population.

In New Zealand, with a population of 1,102,794, the value of land is \$1,153,525,735, or \$1050 per head. Neither of these valuations was a full appraisement of the value of land and neither considered the value contained in highways, railways, road beds, county roads, city streets, and avenues for transportation of water, gas, electricity, etc., values which are used in transportation for hire, or consumption.

I therefore conclude that the social value of California is at least \$1500 per head of population. It is not uniformly this figure throughout the United States; nevertheless, I think that \$1500 per person may be taken as the measure of the social value of the nation.

The value of land is different from the price of land, or the sum at which the land owner holds his land for sale or rent. This, so far as I can ascertain, stands at about thirty per cent in excess of the value of the land. Sales of land are generally made at thirty per cent higher than the social value content, treating the value of the land at a capitalization of five per cent upon the yield of the land employed to its full economic efficiency. This phenomena of course varies; sales in boom towns are often made for sums several times the value of the land, while in periods of depression a land owner may be forced to sell for a sum much less than the value.

The social value was not always the amount it is now. In a lesser state of economic efficiency of the people it was less. A hundred years ago it may not have been \$200 per unit; a hundred years from now it may be \$5000 per head—no one can tell what it will be; we can only know that it will not be less, but far greater than it is today.

Social value does not arise alone from the presence of population and order. It arises from the co-operative efficiency of the several units of population. Were the five hundred thousand people who at present occupy the site of San Francisco wholly removed

<sup>\*</sup> Appraised on a basis of fifty per cent of the value of the land.

therefrom, together with all their buildings and effects, and if it were possible for us to push aside the influence towards creation of social value generated by adjacent populations, and then some magic of Arabian Nights should whirl thither 500,000 denizens of Timbuctu with their huts on poles or grass karals, there would then be here as many people as had been whisked away; but the land of the city would derive no value from the presence of such population; for those people do not know how to co-operate. They live not in society, but in association, since their provender is wild food.

As the economic efficiency of the people of the United States is about equalled by those of the countries of Europe, the social value per unit of population of that continent and its islands is about the same as in the United States. The same may be said of Canada and of some other countries. Upon the whole, however, the social value of the world probably does not exceed \$1000 per unit. In the United States we have one hundred millions of people. Our social value, therefore, is one hundred and fifty billions of dollars. Of this, leaving out of consideration the measure of non-use of efficiently covered valuable land surface, to which we referred above, we shall say that of the social value 40 per cent we use and 60 per cent we do not use. The amount of our social value which we do not use is hence ninety billions of dollars.

The proportion of use by society of the social value being everywhere at about the same ratio, 40 per cent, its quantum being \$1000 per head, and there being 1,700,000,000 of people upon the earth with the social value of the whole world amounting to \$1,700,000,-000,000, we have with 40 per cent use \$680,000,000,000 of social value used, one trillion and twenty billions of dollars (\$1,020,000,000,000) of social value is not used.

There is, hence, in society a vast ocean of value which is not used, from whose presence society receives not the slightest benefit, whose very existence society does not understand, realize or know. A: See picture on opposite page: View on the south side of Market street between New Montgomery (right) and Second (left) streets—The social value contained in this block is about \$6,000 per front foot, the values of the corner lots being somewhat greater because they are corners. The lot on the corner of New Montgomery street is improved fittingly to the neighborhood—with a 14-story building. The other lots are not efficiently used; the lot to the east is vacant, the next eastwardly holds a one-story building, then a three-story, then a five-story—all unsightly shacks. The building on the Second street corner falls two stories short of properly using its lot. To the west, across New Montgomery street, stands the Palace Hotel about half using its lot. Of the \$1,200,000 of social value contained in the 200 feet of the block between the two streets, certainly more than \$600,000 of it is not used, and the society of San Francisco and the State therefore get, from such unused portion not the slightest benefit.

B: See picture on opposite page: The Business Center of Baltimore: The land of this district contains many millions of dollars of social value, of which, perhaps, not to exceed thirty per cent is used. Seventy per cent is unused. Scarcely a dozen lots in the entire section, as shown by the picture, are adequately improved.

C: See picture on opposite page: The Business Center of New York City as seen from the Harbor: Hundreds of millions of dollars of social value are lying here in plain sight, with a use of probably not to exceed thirty per cent—a vast volume of value, measuring opportunity to industry, which the people of New York and the country do not realize is not used, do not even realize exists. When one tries to buy a lot in this district, however, whatever be its improvements, he discovers that it contains large value, and that it takes the same kind of money to buy it as would buy goods in Wanamaker's store. Imagine the effect on the industry not alone of New York City, but of the whole Atlantic Coast, if goods of the kind contained in Wanamaker's and Macy's stores to the extent of the unused social value existing in the area of the picture, were withdrawn from society, warehoused and could not be used! We can then realize what it means to society and to each person in it, to withhold from use such enormous value.





Illustrations of Society's Violation of the Second Natural Law, ORDER, in Its Use of the Earth as Shown in the Hearts of Cities. (For Explanation see opposite page.)

San Francisco: Illustrating unused social value in the business center.



Baltimore: Showing the social value of the business center but little used.



New York City from the harbor: Billions of dollars of social value unused.

### CHAPTER V.

## MAN AND LAND.

The Quality of Value in Land is Counterpoised by Power in the Individual (or Social Unit) to Employ the Value, Hence Efficiently Use the Land—Unused Social Value, Therefore, Correlates Unemployed Efficiencies in the People—The Definition of Monopoly—Land Monopoly and of What it Consists—Nature's Preservation of the Strongest in the Struggle in Society for Livings Which Land Monopoly Compels.

The efficient use of the social value coincides with and complements efficient employment of the people. If you have all your valuable land efficiently used, you must have all the people efficiently employed. Where one is not efficiently employed, there is somewhere valuable land that is not efficiently used. The potentiality in the land enabling a unit to serve society in higher ways than he could do without it, corresponds, we have seen, to the potentiality in the unit to use the land is such ways. Did not the potentiality exist in the unit, it could not find response in the negative potentiality in the land. Destroy it in the unit, it is ineffective in the land. Destroy it in all units, it disappears from the land. Double it in all units, you double it in the land.

In other words, this quality of the social value, in its relation to land, is by Nature so adjusted that it employs all of the people and employs them to their several full efficiencies. A plot of land which in one stage of culture, in one state of society, would employ but one person, in another stage and state is made through this responsive quality of value, to employ ten thousand people. Here is the true key to the whole sociological subject. Nature has provided that the earth shall always employ the human, and engage him to the full volume of his capabilities for rendering service to his fellow; and she does it through this latent value resting in the land. However, to use the land bearing this value she demands that men be free and equal in access to the avenues of co-operation, one with the other. You cannot get full use of the value of land with men's hands tied by restrictive laws which it is the very essence of privilege to impose; and unless you get full co-operation of the social units, men in multitudes will be idle and war must come to kill a

margin of their number to prevent the collapse of society through famine and the subsidence of civilization.

As I write these lines the train nearing San Francisco whisks by a broad sweep of bare land dotted with signs which say that the tract is "factory sites." It is a stretch of mud bordering the bay where the flood comes in and the ebb runs out through crooked channels cut in the surface by the flow. The owner, I am informed, prices this land at ten thousand dollars per acre. What its social value content may be I do not know, but probably about \$7000 per acre. But why should it have, as factory sites, any value at all? No factories are on it, though a number are close by. Obviously, if this land really has any factory site value, it is because some group of men in society have in them the power to employ this land in the operation of a factory. If these people did not exist, then this land could have no value as a factory site, but its value would be based on some other use, and measured by the degree of such use to society with a co-relative group in society offset against such use. That this land, therefore, actually has factory-site value and is unused, means that that group of factory men somewhere in society are, as factory men, unemployed. If they are employed at all, it is not as factory men, but in some lower occupation; hence society is not receiving their services at their full efficiencies, as it would be were this factory site used by them-that is, were the positive potentiality in them met by the negative potentiality contained in this land.

In other words, in the domain of the social value there is no such thing as we find in that of the unit value, which I call repletion, or a quantity more than can be consumed. One can consume only so much of unit value-a commodity, a structure, a service-and it is possible that of these things more can be made than can be used. The power of the human over matter is today such that he can very greatly exceed in production the ability of the units to consume. This is an entirely natural circumstance and condition; its meaning is that as the human progresses he tends to become unchained irom the shackels of matter. On a low plane of culture man's whole time is employed in seeking food and he has no leisure disconnected from his daily needs for thought. As he ascends in culture he becomes able to supply his material wants with an ever lessening proportion of his time; the balance of his energies remain to him wherewith to enlarge his mind. This condition, however, man has not yet actually reached, and will not reach until he institutes the Call System; with all his power over matter, man has never yet produced more of unit value than the unit of society can con-

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sume; for whenever so-called over-production has occurred, the mills have shut down with warehouses bursting with goods, and people by millions famishing for the things comprising this "overplus", unable to find in society takers for their services so they may be enabled to get any part of it. The condition, therefore, has not been one of real abundance, but of artificial scarcity.

In the region of the social value, however, there is never such a thing as social value which society cannot use. There will be land which society cannot use, but such land will have no value. If there be land bearing value that is idle, it means that there are persons in society who would use that valuable land if they could get access to it, and who are being held away from it by the conditions of the Protective Spirit.

So, then, we have the undeniable fact that the power in the land, measured by its value, is complementary to the power resident in the social unit to employ the land to the full of that value, else the value could not exist. And when we have this value unused, we **must** have a corresponding non-use of the complementary potentiality in those units who stand in society divorced from the potentiality of the land.

Suppose this were not true; suppose that all the land of a nation might be efficiently used, and yet there were some persons still in society who were not efficiently employed, or not employed at all: Very well, we will take these people out of society of that nation and put them somewhere on land that has no value. If the land is such, climatically and otherwise, as makes their residence there possible—that is, makes co-operative efficiency possible—these people will instantly give social value to this land, and this will employ them. They will be severally employed just in the proportion as the land has social value. The man with the cigar stand on the valuable site at Market and Kearny streets will be fully employed; the man with the cigar stand on the site of less value at Twenty-first and Mission streets, assuming him of the same possible efficiency as the other man, will be less than fully employed. This Mission man ought not be conducting his cigar stand at all; he ought not be where the land does not hold sufficient value to employ him fully. But he is pressed into this position to hunt a half a loaf where a whole loaf cannot be had, just as the man at the factory will work half time where he cannot get full time.

Let us press this simile slightly: The down town man pays \$400 per month rent, and sells enough cigars to make \$20 profit per day. To do this he must possess within himself certain efficiencies. He must know how to buy goods, must know the tastes of the people he serves, must be orderly in the conduct of his business, and so on. In other words, he must possess within himself a potentiality enabling him fittingly to use the potential contained in that \$400 lot. Place this man on the up town lot, his potentiality will be the same, but it will not yield him \$20 per day—possibly not five dollars per day; the potentiality is not in the land to correspond with that which is in him. Assume now that this Mission street man on his lot actually has all the business there that he is able, in his poor way, to attend to. He is a five dollar a day man on a five dollar a day lot. Transfer him down town, and he too will not earn \$20 per day—may not earn enough to pay the \$400 rent. You may call that which is absent in the Mission man skill; I may call it efficiency; it is really potentiality.

In other words, since if men be employed at all they must be employed upon the earth, and as we call the quality latent in the earth to employ them social value, there is a modicum of value in land for each man in society; and when this value is not being used, that man is idle. So when we find a man idle, it is because his correlative value in land is not being used. This "using land" does not mean plowing to sow wheat. I am using land sitting at my desk writing this page. How could I possibly write it were I not resting meanwhile upon land? Might I write it suspended in air? Very well, then, my balloon would simply be the top story of a skyscraper.

The meaning of all this is very plain to us: For if you have a value in society which society is not permitted to use, it does not matter in what substance the value is, whether it be in manufactured iron or wood, or fabrics, or food—if society cannot use it, value being the basis of co-operation, society will suffer in the matter of its co-operation for lack of the use of that value. Seal all the coal mines, so the coal becomes warehoused in its veins; do the same with the iron ore; still the descending waters so that hydro-electric current cannot be generated—then business hard-times will follow the shutting away from society of the values contained in these things, for there will necessarily be men unemployed.

When society therefore has such an amount as sixty per cent of its possible social value shut away and cannot use it, society in consequence suffers. It is less co-operative than it would be were such value used. Society now conducts all its business on twofifths of its social value. Were its social value fully used, it would seem that it would have two and a half times more business than it has now; but it would have even more than that amount.

For if society were permitted to use fully and freely the forty per cent of the social value that it now employs, it would at least have thus much of full co-operation; but it is not allowed to do so. The lot on Market street may be covered with a ten-story building, and thus the land efficiently used, but there may be whole floors in the building which are not rented. Yet there are men in the city and without who would rent every office did society present to them the openings for business which would enable them to install the offices. The farmer may have his hundred acres sown to grain, yet for the lack of a deep soiling plow with the traction to pull it, or from the absence of fertilizer for the soil, he may have only a fifty per cent crop. The farmer would get these things were he free to We say he has not the money; what he really has not is do so. the co-operative efficiency. Did he possess this he would get the This may not be his own fault. He is prevented from money. efficiency co-operating with society by the fact that society fails to pay him enough for his product to enable him to keep up his efficient co-operation. If we shall assume that the exertion which the farmer puts forth upon his land is 100 per cent of that within him, and that through fertilizing and deep soiling he has control over his land in its maximum production, so that his own potentiality and that of his land may be made continuously to correspond, we shall see that this third factor, that of the state of society, through denying to him a sufficient and proper return for his yield, lowers the powers of both potentialities. Society as arranged prevents efficient service being made to it.

The reason why society does not efficiently use the forty per cent of the social value which its operations now cover, is due to the interference with free action of the social units by certain monopolies or forms of privilege, all of which have their source and center in land monopoly.

Land monopoly is the holding out of use valuable land in order that land which is used may bring higher prices in rent or sale. This fact is not recognized. Current economics even denies that such thing as land monopoly exists; but its presence is very evident. It is apparent that not all the landed areas within society are used. It is manifest also that so long as there are idle and half employed people in society they would use whatever opportunity is contained in these idle areas if they could get access to them—that is to say, if the returns therefrom were sufficiently attractive. If such lands as are not used were forced into use, there would follow, from the competition of usable lands for users, a lowering of prices of lands. This being true, it must follow that when more than half of the valuable land in society is held out of use, that which society is permitted to use must bring higher prices than if the unused lands were available.

This phenomenon would be very apparent were the owners of valuable land combined in a single person. If one man, being the owner of all the useful land, should deliberately hold out of use, from society, sixty per cent of the land in order that he might exert a pressure upon society, compelling it to pay him higher prices for the forty per cent that he permitted it to use, we should then have land monopoly showing itself very clearly to us. Something like this has been, from time to time, attempted in the past. The Penn estate in Pennsylvania for years operated in a manner something akin to this. But the society of Pennsylvania would not tolerate it. The descendants of the Lord Proprietor were overthrown. And society would destroy this single landlord wherever he appeared.

Land ownership, however, is not merged in a single individual, but is divided up among many persons, to which group anyone may be added by purchasing land, and these individuals are not acting together by any conscious arrangement whereby those who own used land are **particeps criminis** with those who, owning unused or half used land, hold it out of use, through which one profits by the act of the other. Owing to the lack of deliberation, the existence of monopoly in the matter of land is not apparent. Nevertheless, monopoly existing as the effect of the multifarious holding is precisely the same as if the holding was limited to a single person. In other words, the size of the group of land owners is of no consequence; the group might comprise one or two, or might be ten millions. If the effect of such holdings is to draw from society an increased price for used land by holding unused land at high prices, then we have monopoly extorting a price which free competition would lower.

Again, in a large way, we may say that monopoly of land means monopoly of production. For if all production issues from the earth, and sixty per cent of valuable land is held out of use, the products of this sixty per cent of valuable land are not available to compete for purchasers with the products of the forty per cent which now exists. The users of the forty per cent of land, therefore, enjoy more than their own rights of co-operating with society; they enjoy their right, plus the rights of the sixty per cent of idle people who by land monopoly are forbidden to co-operate with society.

It is the peculiar quality of land ownership that the land owner, under the prevailing or protective system, gives to society nothing

in exchange for what he receives.\* All that he parts with for the money he gets is his permission that the earth be used. Did he give potatoes or anything else of unit value for the money paid him, there would be a limit to his taking. He could then get money only to the extent of his potatoes. But giving nothing for the money, his capacity to receive is unlimited. Always he will take all he can get. This fact, therefore, causes him to administer a pressure against industry to get from it the last farthing that it can be made to part with in order that industry may be conducted, for there is no place for industry to conduct itself upon save upon the earth. So where the landowner with his fulcrum, the unused valuable land, gets his lever under industry, he will pry from it the largest possible share that its condition will permit it to yield. That yield tends to be all the surplus of industry. Of the three factors which comprise industry, labor, capital and land, the rewards of the advance of industry, of the increase of its powers in production, do not go to labor; for labor must struggle through the interpositions of unions to get such wages as may enable it to live, and many of its units starve: it does not go to capital, for competition holds capital to five per cent; it goes to increase the yield to the owners of land.

Nor can this pressure of rent, or land price, against industry be laid alone to the "greed" of the landowner. The landowner is no more greedy than anyone else who has a thing to sell. It is natural that anyone should try to get in a deal all that is obtainable. Society could not exist were the natural law otherwise. The landowner, with his back against the volume of unused valuable land, receives the bids of the competing units of industry, and awards access to the land to the highest. The successful contestant will give him "all the traffic can bear." He will figure interest for his capital, such wages as the labor union drives him to pay, such profit as return for his own labor makes the business attractive to him, and the balance he will give to the landowner.

The effect of this status of the landowner is to hold out of existence a vast volume of industry, and to constantly turn the screw upon existing industry, tending ever towards its contraction—that is, its extinction. The result of this is that many persons in society are from one hundred per cent to one per cent idle; the wholly employed, or fully co-operative, comprising a group of a very few persons.

For it is the quality of land monopoly to exert a continuous

<sup>\*</sup> Unless, indeed, it could be said that he gives some service to the State in collecting from society and paying to the State the sum he pays as taxes on the land, as it is now called.

pressure upon existing industry, wherein, in response to such pressure, competition in industry tends to elimination in the direction of monopoly. Under this influence business activity, originating from any cause, automatically snuffs itself out. Industry is pressed by rent, not always upon land which a given enterprise may occupy, for such site may be owned by the enterprise, but by that which goes on everywhere else. If Jones, who tans hides, must give more for a piece of land for his tannery than he could have gotten it for a vear ago, he must, unless his costs be otherwise reduced, charge more for his leather. Jacobs, the baker, must pay more for boots and must have more wages to enable him to do it. Higher wages for Jacobs means higher price for bread, and Jenkins, who eats bread, must have more wages from his iron foundry job, and so on. And what obtains in increased price of land operates equally in increased price of rent. Any flurry of activity in business which affords the land owner an opportunity to raise rent reacts upon industry with increasing prices for commodities and service. Higher prices lessen consumption, which narrows markets, and tends to the formation of monopolies therein to hold a sustaining volume of business to a group powerful enough to effect such end.

In the presence, therefore, of this vast force for dis-co-operation, due to holding out of use such an enormous volume of value in society, there ensues a struggle in society amongst its units for such opportunity as exists to co-operate with society. This struggle is, of course, moved by obedience to the third law—preservation of self. And, as in all struggle, it is the strongest who survive. The weak are eliminated.

The strongest, in order to preserve themselves, will lay hold of such force as exists to prevent others than themselves from cooperating with society, or getting livings, in order that they alone may so co-operate. As in modern society the exercise of force is centered in the State, so the strong unit reaches out for the State to use it to protect him against other units in the exclusive opportunity to co-operate with society. Such protection is monopoly, and such monopoly gives him privilege.

What privilege is is not known. You will hear from each authority a different definition, and in the end you will find it impossible to reconcile them. Yet the definition is very simple; it is the use of force to deny to some their right to serve society, in order that others (beneficiaries) may enjoy more than their right thereto. Privilege does not act upon the beneficiary. Him it leaves unmolested. It acts upon those whom, for his benefit, it denies. In other words, the privilegist first possesses his own right, plus the rights of the several persons who for his benefit are denied. The usual instrument of force now employed by the groups of privilege to effect this end is the State; but where the State cannot be used to such end, private force is resorted to. The labor union, where it cannot effectively move the State to its uses, employs private force.

#### CHAPTER VI.

### THE BASIC MONOPOLIES.

Their Existence an Endeavor to Preserve Groups in the Presence of a Force Destroying Society—Their Enumeration—Advantages are not Privileges—Money not a Monopoly—Tariff Monopoly Considered—How Tariffs Oppose Natural Law and Produce Inevitable War—Tariffs Have Been a Necessary Institution in the Progress of Man—They are now Archaic and Malificent.

Under the influence we have noted in the preceding chapter, we find society under the Protective Spirit tending toward groups with individual ends. The existence of these groups is perfectly natural. In the presence of a force which, if left its free sway, would destroy society and progress, nature holds on to the strongest and sacrifices the weaker. The strongest are, in civilization, not those possessing most physical brawn, but those best fitted to survive in their environment. By this means civilization and progress are preserved. Hence, we find in Protective Society, in addition to land monopoly, six other monopolies, a total of seven; these are:

- (1) Land monopoly (production).
- (2) Tariff monopoly (fabrication).
- (3) Highway monopoly (transportation).
- (4) Patent monopoly (markets).
- (5) Occupations monopoly (service).
- (6) Migration monopoly (movement).
- (7) Sumptuary supplies monopoly (prohibitions).

There are also certain other phenomena which have the appearance and somewhat the qualities of monopolies but which are not such. They are the effects or reflexes of the seven monopolies; but they fail in being monopolies in that they do not employ force in preserving to their beneficiaries the superior positions which they occupy. Among these are education and money. In a country where education is limited to a few people, those who possess it will seem to enjoy a monopoly, and this will seem especially so where the State withholds education from the people by failing to install public schools. What such persons have, however, is not a **privilege**, but an **advantage**. They would cease to have this were the other monopolies effaced, as the people would then have ample means to educate their children and satisfy their own desires for knowledge.

If, however, we find, as in the past of Russia and some other countries, a group of priests or others in control of the government, who purposely use the State to prevent it from performing a duty i. e., conducting public schools—in order that a group within society may exclusively possess the economic benefits of education—here we have education erected into a true monopoly, and those who possess it are genuinely privilegists. They are employing force to deny to others their rights in order themselves to enjoy more than their rights.

Neither can money be a monopoly, despite all we hear about the "money power". Anyone possessing acceptable collateral can borrow money, and competition for loans will hold down the rates of interest. Nor can the lending of money ever be monopolized or "controlled", as some think and assign this as the cause of the prevailing sociological disturbance. The trouble is not with money, but with collateral. You can always get plenty of money if you have the substances with which to buy money. Nor can any combinations of banks aimed at lessening loans do other than move the rise of new banks ready to make loans if there be an unrestricted demand for money credit, offering satisfactory security to underlie it.

Land monopoly has been dealt with in the previous chapter. Protective tariffs are laid to prevent foreign manufacturers (and in Europe, also agriculturists) from sending their goods into the country to sell in competition with goods manufactured within. That is to say, the tariffs' function is to prevent co-operation of one beyond the political boundary with the society within the boundary, in order that one within such boundary may have the exclusive privilege of co-operating with such society. The reason given for the existence of protective tariffs is that through having the exclusive privilege of selling to his home market the home manufacturer is able to employ local persons who, if the foreigner were permitted to introduce his goods without tariffs, would not have such employment, or any employment; or if employment existed at all in the manufacture of such commodity, it must be at wages equal to those paid in the country of export. That last ground, while greatly emphasized in the United States, where nominal (or coin) wage is higher than in Europe, is not put forward in those protective tariff countries where wages are lower than in the countries where the imported goods are manufactured, such as in Germany against England with free trade, and the United States with its protection.

As in society under the Protective Spirit, where there are always (except during war) more men than jobs, the protective tariff policy has a large following, comprising not only the manufacturer, but his help and their collaterals—retail dealers, etc. And this number grows as the country moves out of agriculture towards manufacturing.

The falsity of the assertion that protective tariffs provide work for the people, which, if foreign goods were permitted to enter, would not exist, may be recognized when it is remembered that all trade is exchange of goods for goods; all that a country has wherewith to buy foreign goods is goods of its own production; hence, if goods come into the country, other goods must go out to pay for them, and therefore the greater the imports the greater must be the exports.

At this point, however, the question in the public mind becomes complicated with the idea of money. It is assumed that exports being sales and imports purchases, when we bring in goods we must send out money to pay for them; that this money is gold; that upon the quantity of gold in existence depends the activities of business; that if we "drain all the gold out of the country" by buying goods abroad, we cannot buy goods at home, for money is lacking, whereupon industry shuts down and unemployment and hard times submerge the country. The concept of protective tariff trade, therefore, is exchange of goods for gold. All this is very erroneous. Gold has practically nothing to do with foreign trade, except where it is sold and shipped, not to settle balances, but as any other commodity. Foreign trade moves upon bills of credit which arise within its own domain. A cargo of wool shipped from Sidney to London is paid for by a bill on Sidney bought in London which paid for a consignment of typewriters sent to Australia from the United States. These balances are adjusted through shifting credits in banks in the several countries.

Nor has the quantity of gold in existence anything particular to do with the volume of business. It is unfortunate that the stuff is used as money at all. It is a source of great confusion in political economy to those who do not understand sociology. Gold will ultimately cease to be used as money. If at no other time, then when science discovers a method of manufacturing gold and making it on the market as cheap as lead or iron.

If the business men knew that goods were bought with goods and not with gold, they would themselves antagonize tariffs. We hear of demands being made for an import duty on raw silk to meet Japanese competition before the House of Representatives. "Complete free trade between the United States and Japan would kill silk industries in this country," says the representative of the American silk manufacturers. When it is considered that raw silk is the chief export product of Japan, the commodity with which she buys from the United States the machinery and other manufactured products which we sell to her, it is obvious that to refuse to take her silk is to fail to sell her machinery. Such action in Congress, then, should immediately interest the machine manufacturers, who should realize that the silk men are trying to suppress their sales to Japan by shutting out Japanese silk. But we find, in fact, the machine men tarred with the same stick as the silk men; they, too, demand tariffs to keep out machinery from elsewhere just as shortsightedly. We find business, therefore, so hog-tied with privilege that industry after industry must pass out of existence and those who suffer dare not protest against the injustices they endure, since they blindly seek to impose similar injustice elsewhere.

Protective tariffs do not raise wages. Labor unions are in all protected establishments, without whose presence the lowest wages would be paid. Such high wages as exist in these industries are due to the presence of the unions, not to the tariffs.

The existence of tariffs tend to lower wages through preventing the rise of the many domestic industries which would naturally come forth to produce goods to exchange for imports, thus giving employment to large numbers of people. These are now held out of industry by the tariffs preventing imports, as well as the presence of land monopoly; and wages tend to contract owing to competition for jobs in the protected industries, the only check being the efforts of the unions.

Protective tariffs are a check upon the operation of the seventh law, that as a population increases initiative must arise and fuller co-operation consequently transpire. That is to say, as population thickens, there being more people to co-operate, ever higher initiative must develop. Rising industry draws more people into cooperation, and this influence soon passes the political boundary. The industry of the country must change from the lower-agricultureto the higher-manufacturing-in order that the population be fed. To begin with, the whole country was agriculture. The towns were tool makers and repair shops for the farms. The farms fed the towns. As population increased the farms sent their lads to the There was not enough land on the farm to employ the towns. growing family. The lad entered manufacturing. Presently manufactures in the town became too great to be consumed by the farms, and the farms could not produce enough food to feed the towns. The towns to get food were obliged to ship their manufactures to

farms beyond the political boundary. That is, the rising initiative of increasing population, obedient to the seventh law, called to cooperation an ever widening range of social units, and in this operation Nature pays not the slightest heed to political boundaries.

Protective tariffs interefere with the expression of this law of Nature. They forbid these necessary exchanges from being made, whereby the peoples of thickening populations may be fed. They check the operation of the first law, Progress, through denying to men communication of thought through the medium of goods, and this in order that a protected few within the importing nation may have privilege.

The nation thus denied the exchange requisite to feed her increasing population finds itself checked in her path of evolution from the lower to the higher industry. Failing to move in this direction she must revert to the lower—agriculture. With agriculture she could feed two people per acre the year around; with manufactures, could she convert her fabrications into food through exchange, she could feed a thousand to the acre. But failing to be able to extend her manufactures she must have more land. To get more land she must make war on a neighbor. In this conflict the strongest will prevail, so in preparation for war she tries to be the strongest. As a result of the war she may not procure the neighbor's land; but she reduces her population, so with the land that she has she is better able to feed the survivors.

In savagery, we have noted, just this thing occurred. When population, under the sixth law, increased faster than the wild food supply had accumulated, war cut population back and kept the stock of wild food for the survivors. Only by this means could the race have been kept nourished and progress continue.

Land in civilization corresponds to wild food in savagery.

The presence of protective tariffs, however, have been necessary in human progress. They were a part of the Protective Spirit which, closing the doors to trade with near nations, forced explorations for new and free trade routes with distant peoples, and hence spread civilization over unknown regions of the earth. Had there been a free way from Spain to India by land, Columbus would never have made his westward journey looking for a free trade route. Protective tariffs have also compelled the adoption by countries of high civilization of tracts of savage peoples, in order to control spheres of influence and find trade, thereby encouraging emigrants and lifting the lower peoples. Protective Tariffs have also forced immediately diversified industry in countries where civilized population was sparse, as a war measure, thus rapidly rushing forward the mind in many and varied ways. This diversity would have arisen but slowly had the natural channels of movement from agriculture, through free exchange with manufacturing nations, been pursued. Tariffs, therefore, have, like slavery and other worn-out institutions, been necessary to the progress of civilization. But they are now obsolete and wholly pernicious.

# CHAPTER VII.

#### THE MONOPOLY OF HIGHWAYS.

What are Highways and What are Not—Public Ways the Property of the State—Why this is Necessarily so—The State Cannot Conduct Utilitarian Industry, and has no Right to Use the Highways for Such Purpose—Competition in Industry Upon the Highways a Right of the Citizen—The People Have a Right that Such Competition Shall Exist, Not be Wiped Out by Mergers of Competing Concerns.

All avenues for the passage of the public, either in persons or effects, are public highways. Ways not used for movement of the public are not such, whatever their character or however great their length. A smelter hauling ore on its own railroad from its mines at one end of the continent to its furnaces at the other, using the road altogether for its own purposes, would be the owner of a private, not a public, way, just as completely so as a man is the owner of the walks and drives on the grounds of his estate. This, however, would be different if the ore was merely hauled to a warehouse and there distributed to the public without further manipulation. Such is the case with an electric light works transporting current over wires to a station in the city and there distributed through the streets; here we have a public thoroughfare all the way through. The commodity taken on at the dam or power house, and the commodity distributed to the consumers, is the same thing; the service being addressed to the public, the distribution started at the dam. It was not so with the ore, which, before its completed substance became dedicated to the public, might have to pass through one or a score of manipulations, and move to a separate place for each.

Public highways, therefore, are those routes over which run railway trains, street cars, gas and water pipes, electric pole lines, and so on.

Being public highways, their land surface is in the keeping of the State. Such highways should all be the property of the State.

This duty of the State to own and maintain the public ways rests upon the first two laws—Progress and Order. That men may progress it is necessary that they come in contact with each other, mind with mind, both personally and through the medium of their effects—goods, written and spoken words, and so forth. Nature demanding this, also demands that they proceed in such matter orderly. To go at all they must go over the earth; and to go without violating the rights of others—that is, without trespassing on private lands—they must be within their rights in so passing. Hence the power in society which is in charge of order, the State, must direct them where they may of right move in their going from place to place. It is therefore the duty of the State, in the furtherance of order, to mark out the highway; and as this way must be passable the State should grade it, and maintain it.

As not all persons may walk long distances, and there are those in the community who would serve by carrying them, so it is proper for the State to make the highway suitable for such transportation. Thus the State may pave the highway, facilitating the passing over it of suitable vehicles; and where the best suited vehicle to such highway would employ a flanged wheel, the State should place tracks thereon so that such wheels may be used. Or if the commodity transported did not require a vehicle carriage at all, but used a pipe, or wire, as water, oil, gas or electricity, then it would be the duty of the State in designating the line of the highway, to provide it with poles, supply pipes, and in trunk lines, perhaps, even wires.

Having done this, however, the State can go no further. The State is not a conductor of utilitarian enterprise. Such is the sole region of the citizen. In respect to the highways as with all else the State holds a balance between its citizens. Its function is merely to maintain order. All persons, therefore, have, under equal terms, the right to use the highways, whether to pass thereupon in their persons or to carry others in vehicles, or in whatever way the traffic may be effected.

It is the duty of the State to designate the character of vehicle by which orderly use of the highway may be made; not to permit barrows or palanquins to be used to carry passengers where electric trolly cars are practicable; but having done this, all persons have an equal right and duty to pay to the State whatever charge it makes upon such cars, for use of the social value contained in the roadbed, then run their cars upon the tracks, their current upon the wires upon the poles, and so on, leaving to such persons wholly the matter of what fares they shall charge, what rates they shall demand, what service they shall give. Competition will adjust these incidents to make rates low and service good.

To compete is a right. It is merely the exercise of equal right

which we saw had its origin in the third law—the preservation of life—the equal right to live. But while persons through their right to agree in the conducting of business may consolidate their enterprises, as one store may sell out to another, yet when it is considered that it is physically impossible for more than a limited number of persons to use the highways in carrying traffic, it would be perfectly proper for the State to prevent the use of the highway in such a manner as to deny both to those who would wish to compete and to the public, the right of competition.\* Assume that over a given way it would be physically possible to admit only ten lines of vehicles—whether it would be so physically possible would perhaps be a question for the courts—but assuming that it was, would it not be proper for the State to prevent a consolidation of those ten concerns, who operating as a monopoly would raise rates and lower the quality of service? Could not the State interfere with the use of its highways in such manner? It would undoubtedly be a duty of the State to do so, and prevent mergers.

Here, then, we have the solution of the great bug-a-boo of a railroad question throughout the United States, and of the jitney question in the cities and suburban towns. It is simply that the State own the roadbeds and tracks as it owns the adjacent asphalted surfaces, and so owning hold the use of such ways open to all on equal terms. Anyone wishing to operate trains, or street cars thereupon, would have the right to do so upon paying to the State the toll per passenger or per ton that was prescribed for all.

Jitneys not being fitting vehicles to carry traffic in cities should be denied the streets. If jitney owners wish to conduct urban transportation, the tracks of the streets should be open to them. What right has the rulers of the State to pass the use of the streets for trolly transportation over to a single group of individuals under socalled franchises? They would have as much right to prohibit me from walking on the street, giving the exclusive privilege thereto to Jones and Jackson.

<sup>\*</sup> In Thomas v. Cayser, 243 U. S. Repts. 66, the Supreme Court held that "common carriers are under a duty to compete," and sustained a judgment against a steamship combine constraining shippers on the ground that it was a monopoly in violation of the Sherman act. By what process of reasoning the conclusion can be reached that ships

By what process of reasoning the conclusion can be reached that ships using the "free and unfixed courses of the seas" are under a duty to compete on those courses, and the railroad companies using the fixed courses of the land are not under any duty to compete on such courses, but may maintain a monopoly thereon and this monopoly be perfectly proper and lawful. despite the Sherman and other acts, it is difficult to comprehend, yet this matter of competition on the railroad right of way is the entire of the railroad question.

And precisely the same principle exists with the steam roads. Their roadbeds should be purchased by the Federal government, and a just valuation paid their owners. Railroad companies, instead of having a large part of their capital locked up in unprofitable "permanent ways," would have their assets liquid, in rolling stock and equipment. Companies now limited in their area of operations would then move trains from one end of the country to the other, and competition in service would hold down rates and increase the quality of the carriage to ever higher excellence. The railroad business would then be secure to its operators, satisfactory to its investors, safe and comfortable to the public, and the interference of the government with its operations and affairs would be wholly eliminated

#### CHAPTER VIII,

## THE MONOPOLY OF PATENTS.

The Privilege Does Not Abide Directly in the Grant of the State, but in the Nature of Invention Itself, Which is to Overcome with Improvement Existing Industry—It is Hence a Monopoly of Markets—As Now Arranged, it Suppresses the Free Rise of Initiative Instead of Encouraging it, as the Laws were Intended to do—Right of the Inventor is to a Royalty Upon the Use of His Invention, Not to the Market for the Manufactured Article or its Product.

Although people do not today procure patents as a protective covering from the pressure exerted against society by land monopoly and its attendant forces, as we have noted is the case with a protective tariff law, an immigration exclusion law, or a labor union, yet our patents are a survival of a set of laws that existed for just that reason. For prior to the act of James I which abolished trade monopolies of all sorts, save those upon the "making or working of any manner of new manufactures", the State gave to favored persons the exclusive privilege of making salt, selling starch, and handling almost every other commodity in the United Kingdom.

A patent upon an invention was at that time looked upon as a monopoly, and has been deemed such since. It is a monopoly in a very serious aspect, since its region lies in initiative or the farthest reaches of thought in industry, where thought should be freest to act in order that society might have its full benefits, and that it might induce still higher thought. Here in this vital region we find privilege operating to quench thought, and that through a governmental arrangement supposedly aimed at stimulating thought. Indeed, there exists no monopoly less understood than that of patents, and none more necessary to eliminate to the end that human progress be uninterrupted.

While the monopoly of patents issues through the grant of the patent, yet the monopoly is an indirect rather than a direct result of such grant. In the region of protective tariffs the beneficiary has no right to the act of the State in granting the tariff. The act of the State is a distinct and entire wrong to those in the nation not of the beneficiary group—a wrong even to them, for with all their wealth it makes their position in society ever more perilous and difficult. But in the domain of patents the wrong is not in the act of making a grant, but in the consequences of such grant as the State now makes.

The inventor has a right to benefit from his invention. And as the very word **patent** means that the ideas embodied in the device are disclosed, and so pass beyond control of their owner, unless there was intervention by the State in his behalf, none would pay him, albeit they would adopt and use the invention. These persons have no right to do such thing without compensating the inventor. The true nature of a patent is therefore the conserving by the State of a right of the inventor—that is, the State's preventing sundry persons from doing him a wrong. Thus far the grant of patent is proper, and rests on solid ground. There is no monopoly in this.

Monopoly as now existing in patents, however, lies in the nature of invention. Invention is improvement upon something existing. There is no such thing as a "basic invention." Let us say that the instruments whereby there was effected the application of electricity to industry were basic inventions. What were they? Improved methods of producing and serving artificial light, heat, traction. There was artificial light, heat and traction before electricity was even dreamed of. The electrical inventions were simply new and superior ways of doing old things, of producing old effects.

But when the electric light came into existence the gas plant went out of existence as a light server, the lamp maker disappeared, the oil distiller had less business, the candle maker was compelled to close shop, and so on. And in those instances where a patented invention builds other industries, the enterpreneurs of the latter are even in worse shape, for they become satrapes of patent monopoly, whose prices the public must pay without proper competition.

What, therefore, the patent now does is to give the patentee not only the right to exclusively use his invention, but the right to prevent others from using **their** inventions; and it is in this last that the monopoly lies.

For if the invention was not an improvement upon existing methods, it would have no value. If it were merely another way of getting a result no cheaper and no better than the ways now in use, it would not be introduced. It would have to possess some advantages, some benefits, to cause it to be taken hold of, and if it could offer none it would not be touched.

If the patent, therefore, has value, it is in proportion to the extent that it gives the market for its commodity to the patentee. Not the new market which the invention generates, but the old market which belongs to the trade at the date of the patent. It puts everybody in the trade out of business. Its tendency is, indeed, to enlarge the business through cheapening and bettering the product; hence increasing competition, calling more of the social units into co-operation, offsetting the contrary tendency of rent. But by reason of the monopoly feature to which we have alluded, unless the displaced producer of the superceded product can find employment in the new establishment, he is by the patent put out of business.

Of course, "the trade" resents this. It proceeds at once to adopt the superior device, infringe the patent, and fight the patentee. This person being a poor man, as inventors usually are, is not able to meet the lawsuit in the expensive Federal courts which the infringer compels, so he turns to a manufacturer. This person deals with the inventor on his own terms, since he is "buying a lawsuit." The inventor gets very little. The man who prospers when the infringer is defeated is the manufacturer. This person uses the State granting the patent to club out of business his competitors.

The contest waged before the court by the infringer is that the patent is void for lack of novelty. The patent being merely prima facie evidence of its validity, this defense is allowable. The State in one department confers a grant and in another department says that the grant is worthless. And it says this at the instance of one who is stealing the goods of the grantee, and who to escape punishment would cause the State not only to belie its deliberate act, for the parchment stated the inventor was entitled to his patent, but the State is made to destroy the entire property of the grantee.

Should, upon the other hand, the infringer be convicted, the effect has been that the State has, by its grant of the patent, put the defendant out of business, in order that the plaintiff may have a business. It has taken without right the establishment of the defendant and given it without price to the plaintiff.

Surely nothing could be more unjust or absurd. The remedy is very simple. The State, which makes the grant, can condition that grant with such provisions as it wills. It properly can say to the inventor: "You have devised a superior way of fabricating a product. You have a perfect right to use your method without any reference to us. What you ask us to do, however, is not to permit you to use your invention, for you need no such permit, but to prohibit others from using it. Now, many of our people are already making that product, or something which answers to it, and if we prevent them from using your method, you will prevent them from using theirs, for you will undersell them in the market with your product against theirs. We shall have given you the power to take from them their property, for you destroy the value in their devices and plants and appropriate their opportunity to conduct business their livings." What the State should then do it to condition the grant of the patent with a royalty to be paid by the user to the State tor the account of the inventor, such royalty as the inventor asks the State to charge and which the State agrees is just and reasonable. Having arranged this, the use of the patent should be open alike to all persons, including the inventor or his company if they wish to produce under it, with agreed differentials to first users in introducing the product to the market. The patent should be conclusive as to its validity, and an infringer should be prosecuted criminally without cost to the patentee. The inventor would then receive pay for his invention, the market would remain with the trade, and the patent would be a benefit to all and a harm to none.

#### CHAPTER IX.

#### THE MONOPOLY OF OCCUPATIONS.

The State in Industry Always Means that a Group is Wrongfully Employing the State to Deprive Others of Their Rights that They May Thereby Benefit—The State Now Conducting Industry in Many Lines and is Tending to Expand in that Direction—The Labor Union and the Closed Shop—The Necessity for the Union's Existence Under the Protective System—It Cannot Really Raise Wages—It is Powerless to Produce Permanent Benefit to the Majority of Its Members.

There is at present before the people of California, to be voted upon as an amendment to the state constitution, an illustration of monopoly of occupations. It is a proposal to install the State, as an insurer of the healths of a portion of its citizens. The project is called "Social Insurance". Along with it goes State medical attendance of the citizens, since to insure health necessarily imports treatment of the insured when sick.

We find the State in the performance of many services of this kind. Not only is it insuring health, but in some states it is insuring against other perils. Life, accident and fire are but risks in the path of such State enterprise, and if the measure be carried at the polls, the service thus rendered by the government to the citizen may at the following election be expected to be extended further into the underwriting field.

The State, federal, provincial and municipal, is now throughout the nation in many utilitarian enterprises. Besides conducting insurance, it is operating banks; it is making loans, and dealing in securities; it is running railways and carrying expressage; very widely it is conducting water works, gas, electric light and power service, and operating street railways. It is carrying on shipping and installing manufacturing enterprises. The list of the State's activities in the utilitarian field would comprise a lengthy chapter.

Where the State is not operating the industry through its ownership thereof, it has engaged in a far more radical method of handling enterprise. The State-owned industry it has at its own cost bought or installed; but much of its industry it has neither purchased nor established. It has used its political power to take the plants out of the hands of their owners, without condemnation or compensation, and it is conducting them for the benefit of those groups of its citizens whom it thus serves through the hands of the people who once owned them, and who even suppose they own them still, making such persons its agents and issuing them orders covering every detail of their handling such enterprises, the entire directed to rendering a cheaper service to the individuals served, than they would otherwise get.\*

In such operations vast sums of value have been extracted from the several properties, and this without being transferred to the pockets of the persons for whose benefit the property has been seized. When, for instance, the United States set up its Interstate Commerce Commission, and began to fix rates for the railroads, to tell them what obligations they might incur, what schedules they must and must not observe in running their trains—when this had gone on for a short while it was observed that the securities of the railroads had depreciated by three billion dollars, as shown by the market quotations, and the roads were rapidly passing to receivers through failure of railroad banking credit.

It could not be said that this three billions of dollars, while it had been lost to the road owners, had been received by the shippers, who nevertheless had benefited through cheaper rates. The property had simply passed into the State, as the rights of the citizen who owned the roads had been absorbed by the State through its usurpations.

In all these performances we have an attempt at monopoly of occupation. A group of individuals use the State to strip certain persons of their occupations in order that they may benefit by receiving a service at a cheaper cost. The citizen has a right to his He has a right to serve his fellows in the task of getoccupation. ting a living in such ways as the free wills of himself and his customers may agree upon. The State has no right to thrust him aside from this performance by rendering the service itself. Every individual within the jurisdiction of the State has this same right. Here then we find some individuals while holding on to their rightstheir occupations-use the State to take from others their occupations in order that they may enjoy more than their rights, viz., cheaper cost for a product or service than they would receive it for were the service rendered by the displaced citizen, for the State, having for its support the taxing power, can conduct industry without profit, while the citizen cannot.

<sup>\*</sup> See note at close of this chapter.

While these groups seek to use the force of the State to oppress others for their benefit, it is in the field of private force that we observe the most striking instances of occupational monopoly. The labor union is a struggle on the part of certain of those in society who serve, without themselves furnishing material in the service, to exist in the presence of the force in society which constantly tends to produce less jobs than men. This force, as I have shown, is the constantly rising pressure against industry of rent (or price of land).

The way the union does this is by surrounding the factory with a wall, fencing itself in and the non-unionist out; or, in other words, "the closed shop". To do this the union must interpose force to keep the employer and the non-unionist apart. This force assumes all forms, from mere persuasion to the thug and the dynamite crew. But for the exercise of this force, which is ever present and becomes active in the strike, the employer would reduce wages and lengthen hours, tending ever to press the laborer to the lowest level of subsistence and existence. The labor union group as against the nonunionist is comprised of the environmentally strongest, not necessarily of the physically strongest, though in the field of manual labor the two often go together. The union tends to be comprised of units who are so able to fit themselves to their environment that they may hold the jobs; while the non-unionists, being out of jobs, are otherwise. Within its group, however, the union preserves the physically weak, whom the employer, untrammeled by the union, would, under the Protective System, efface through famine-that is, by denying them jobs.

The employer would so operate against the union group were he able to get free access to the non-unionists, the unemployed, who, pressed by famine, always underbid those having the jobs.

The employer is himself moved to so act towards his labor by the pressure which he experiences in the market of his commodity or service, unless he be there hedged by tariff, patent or other form of monopoly; else the employer becomes forced to compete in a market already overstocked, owing to the inability of purchasers to buy what they need. To survive under these conditions he must undercut his competitors, and to do this must pay the lowest possible wages, though he would be glad to do otherwise.

Kept away from the non-unionist, the employer becomes subject to the demands imposed by the unionists as to the condition of their working. These are wages, hours, facilities and regulations of the industry favorable to the worker. They tend to press the industry (or the product) to pay more for labor than it economically can stand, so that the price of the product is automatically raised in consequence.

This rise in price lessens the market, hence shortens the output, hence lessens the number of jobs, hence produces struggle even within the union for the jobs, tending to solidify a job-holding group within the union as against an unemployed group. The statement, therefore, which we find in the text-books of current economics, that the union is not a monopoly because any laborer can upon application be admitted to it, is erroneous. If workers could all get jobs by joining the union, all workers would be unionists. But the effect of union membership is too often to hold the worker idle, standing in line waiting for vacancies in jobs which are tightly held; and the worker feels that he has more chance of getting a job outside the union where he is free from any restrictions, than within it.

The increase of cost of the product, made by unions increasing wages, shortening hours, and imposing upon industry conditions lessening the effort of the laborers, raises all prices, increases the cost of living of the worker as well as all others, and makes the coin which the laborer receives mean to him less wages. He is therefore constantly compelled to demand of the employer higher wages, which has a continuous effect of lessening industry and sloughing into unemployment a margin of workers.

The cause of all this lies concealed. It is the pressure of rent against wages. That is, the constantly rising price of rent—or of land—upon industry, takes ever more from industry, leaving it less with which to pay labor. And holding out of use valuable land in order to enforce this greater exaction upon industry, it throws or holds in unemployment a margin of workers who comprise the pressure for the jobs and against whom the union, to protect the jobs in possession of its members, is a wall.

The remedy for the condition is to release the unused valuable land to industry, so calling away from the doors of the factory the competing unemployed, and creating more jobs than men by turning into society the vast quantities of goods which the full use of the social value would effect. This would not be a market congested by over-supply, as the market tends to be under the Protective Spirit in peace times, but a market in the presence of a people each of whom is able to buy all he reasonably desires, because everyone is employed.

In this market prices will be low through abundance pressing to the consumer, and wages will be high through employers bidding for help. The offices of the union as now exercised will not be required as there will be no unemployed to fence against, and the employer will voluntarily pay the utmost wages he can afford from a product sold in a market of free competition, in order to get the men. Employers will compete with each other for the best men, some offering exceptionally high wages in order to get the most efficient workmen. The men will be docile and render obedience to the employer to escape the turnover loss through discharge, as against the present system which tends to carelessness and inefficiency in the workman, and obedience not to the employer, but to the union.

The union can be of benefit to only a small group of laborers. Its operations have two harmful effects; it raises prices through artificially raising its own wages, as we have seen, also by keeping out of co-operation with society a large number of other laborers who, if they were employed, would create products which would eliminate scarcity and lower prices, thus increasing the real wage, as against the nominal wage (coin) of the union laborer. To the union, however, high prices, hence scarcity-real or artificial-seem necessary in order that high wages (coin) may be paid. It is inconceivable to the union that there can be high wages (both coin and real) with low prices. We hence find unions not only demanding fewer hours as a day's work, but objecting to the use of machines and methods in the industry which increase production. The objectors assume that by increasing output the market will become overstocked whereby men will be laid off, and price will The union therefore stands for scarcity and high be lessened. prices, in order that it may get short hours and high wages. True high wages cannot be paid by scarcity, which means high prices for things the wages buy, hence low real wages. High wages can only be paid by abundance of output per man, the price of wages being determined by conditions outside the plant-in society-where jobs are so plentiful that the entrepreneur is forced to bid all the sale price of the product will allow him to pay in order to get and hold men. It is this condition in the plant or factory that the Call System will produce.

There is another form of occupation monopoly which operates in the trade and professional field as the union acts in the field of manual labor, that is **monopoly under licenses**. We find the State forbidding its citizens their freedom to make their livings by conducting given occupations, unless they shall first pay the State for its permission that they may thus employ themselves. Instead of defending the citizen in the possession of his natural right to co-operate with society in the use of the earth to get his living, the State denies him that right. The reason why it denies him such right is that it has been moved thereto by a group of individuals who, finding there is not enough opportunity—or business—in their lines to employ all those engaged in the occupation, seek to use the State to push some out through installing a test of qualification to which only some can conform. This qualification usually involves a money payment. The man who has not the money cannot practice his profession.

We see the real estate men of San Francisco endeavoring to procure from the State a law licensing real estate operators. Some can pay the charge and practice. Others find the fee burdensome and must drop out. The business goes to those who can pay, the weak are pressed into famine.

Sometimes the test adds to its money character also the quality of a degree of professional skill, and the applicant must pass an examination by a board of inquirers, comprised of members of the profession to whose manifest interest it is that the number of practitioners be held to as few as possible. We find this exemplified in physicians' and dentists' "State boards of examiners." It is left to the conclusion of the group as to whether one should co-operate with society in making his living through the avenue of the special service which he has fitted himself to render.

Obviously, all that the State could of right do in such case would be to explore the knowledge of the applicant, and certify to such grade of learning as he possesses, leaving him then free to render his service to such as would hire him with such character of certificate.

These examinations are proper functions of the State in the maintenance of order. One who contracts for skilled service has a right to have it rendered him. And it is impracticable in affairs for every customer to place his servitor under examination to acquire information of his knowledge. Business is done upon con-Certificates are very necessary in cases of marine, locofidence. motive or even stationary engineers, plumbers, etc. But one should not be forbidden to exercise a calling unless he have a certificate of a certain kind. He should be free to do what he can with such certificate as he is entitled to receive, leaving it to those who employ his services to determine whether with such and such certificate they will hire him or not. If the courts were open to review the action of the boards, the applicant could be quite certain to obtain his fitting certificate. He should be charged no fees for such certification or for practicing his profession.

We sometimes hear it asserted that competition is wasteful and that monopoly is much more economical. Indeed, the idea of State conducting of those utilities that employ highways, and now of all industry generally, is predicated upon this assumption. Thus Mr. Theodore P. Shonts, in a recent address, said:

"In the beginning our mineral oils were the subject of unrestricted competition. Sagacious men saw the economic waste involved and proceeded to remedy it. They bettered and cheapened all the products of the oil industry, and grew marvelously wealthy by appropriating to themselves only a portion of the economies which they effected. The outcome, at the time, was a virtual monopoly. But this was not the primary cause of their wealth. Prices were never lower nor quality better than during the period of the monopoly. Now the Government, instead of retaining for the consumer the benefits of the economies achieved by making a partnership agreement with industry along the lines we have outlined, destroyed the monopoly and thereby brought about a renewal of competition. The consumer has since had to bear, through higher prices, the burden of economic waste. By a partnership plan the saving could have been divided between the consumer and the Government. It can yet be done and that is our proposal in substitution for the proposal of the English Labor Party to nationalize such an industry as that producing petroleum."

Mr. Shonts refers, of course, to the operations of the Standard Oil Company; and the monopoly to which he alludes is that which the Supreme Court of the United States thought it was destroying in Standard Oil Company vs. United States, 221 U. S. Rep., when it decreed a dissolution of that corporation, resulting in the concern breaking up into its component companies which were controlling the oil industry of the several States in which they respectively operated. The theory of that decree was that the monopoly of the Standard Oil consisted in its control of the market; that is, that it handled the larger part of the oil in the oil industry. It was believed that if its business was lessened its monopoly would disappear. This was not a fact. The Justices of the Supreme Court did not know what monopoly is. And the reason they did not know is that before the appearance of this book sociology had never revealed it. The Supreme Court decree did not touch any monopoly of the Standard Oil Company, and when that concern resolved itself into some thirty-eight constituent corporations, instead of the single combine, no monopoly was disturbed. For the monopoly of the Standard Oil was not of markets; that was merely an effect, a sequel of its real monopolies, just as a trust is a product of a tariff. The Standard Oil was a creature of the monopolies of land, of tariffs, of patents and of highways. And when the Supreme Court did not touch these privileges, but permitted them to exist, its decree amounted to nothing—it was in effect a lot of solemn juggling. The Standard still controlled the market, the price of oil went up, and with it rose the market quotations on the stocks of its constituent corporations.

The reason why the price of oil fell with the Standard in control of the industry was not due to the absence of competition, but to its presence, and to the advance of science in all parts of the industry, from the geology of the oil deposits, drilling the wells, pumping and treating the product, to its transportation and delivery to the consumer. The uses of oil were in light, fuel and lubrication. Had the field of these uses been given over solely to oil, the progress of oil in the hands of a monopoly toward cheapness and excellence would have been very slow. The holders of the field, while disposed to slight exertion to increase sales—as we find in a railroad making week-end or holiday round trip reductions to induce travel, etc. would not have besought revolutionizing inventions. The tendency would have been not towards the dynamic, but towards the static. Quiescence would have been the pervading quality, and the monopolists would have been content to "go along gradually," that is, to let the growth of population increase the business.

But the drive of other fuels, and lights and lubricants than oil, forced the Standard to high exertion, to hold down prices and increase quality. By taking advantage of the several forms of monopoly, it was able to crush out competitors in its own line, and to absorb 90 per cent of the market, and the Supreme Court and "the people" thought that the control of the market was the real monopoly, after the fashion of the bull in ring that plunges at the red flag fluttered at its nose, thinking **that** is the source of its agonies. While it does so it receives the **coup de grace**, just as "the people" received it in rise of oil prices, after the plunge of the Supreme Court at the market monopoly.

It hence cannot be said that monopoly of the oil industry has cheapened and improved oil; that as between monopoly and competition within the industry, the product and the consumer have been bettered by monopoly. Had real competition been possible the drive toward excellence and cheapness would have moved immediately upon the start of the industry and would have been continuous; the consumption of oil would have been vastly enlarged, and the appliances for consuming it would be infinitely more numerous than they are today. The error of the idea that monopoly prevents waste lies in the assumption that a high degree of co-operation necessarily entails monopoly. Seeing the highly divisionalized industry that exists in pork packing, for instance, through which co-operation, supplemented by machinery and systems of management, the cost of the product is lessened, and seeing also that a large output is an essential of this cheapened process, and large output entailing absorption of the market, why should pork longer be packed by "little fellows?" Why should it not be to the advantage of the consumer that pork be packed only by a single large concern? So say the privilegists and so think the socialists. The privilegists would pack it by an individual entrepreneur, and the socialist, in order that the entrepreneur's profit might be eliminated, and the price to that extent lowered, would have it packed by the State.

But there has never yet been an industry which presented the quality of cheaper cost of product through single ownership of production—certainly not a large industry. Where we find such monopolies existing as this, that and the other trust, they show the phenomenon of plants located at different places, operated under a uniform system. The sites of these plants, where the sociological condition allowed free competition, would present opportunities for separate entrepreneurs, who would press into the field and provide competition. They would compete rather than combine, for a combine would have for its object, increase of prices through increased profits, and this condition would call others into the field. However great the investment of capital, there is always an equal amount of capital ready to enter a field where the profits are attractive There can be no real monopoly of money, nor can there be any monopoly of markets, save where such rests upon one or more of the seven monopolies we have enumerated. There is nothing to regret in the movement of industry from small to large establishments where competition is free. This is a perfectly natural process. Industry may outgrow the small shop. Jones the blacksmith has no right to hold the manufacture of horseshoe nails to his forge and anvil as against the great mill, in order that he may have occupation. The demand for nails made by the cheapened processes of manufacture would, under free industry, employ a thousand Jones, and give them far higher pay and lighter work than would be their portion in their several shops. The vice which the Supreme Court saw in the Standard Oil did not lie in the largeness of its business, in the magnitude of its enterprise. For this the owners were entitled to commendation. It lay in the fact that the operations of that company rested upon the monopolies we have named; and because of these other persons who would have been in the oil business were denied their equal rights in order that this group of privilegists might solely and unduly prosper.

Mr. Shonts' "proposal in substitution for the proposal of the English Labor Party" is interesting. It is big business asking for a share in its property about to be taken possession, or "control," of by the laborer, who will use the State to oust the owner—the entrepreneur. Be certain that "labor" will reject that proposal. The day of the privilegist is done. Men of the Shonts type,, who themselves in large affairs, try to keep abreast of and understand the drift of things, have no idea of trying to hold on to the prevailing sociological system. That is dead and foregone. What they are now scrambling to do is to find a place in the wagon which, harnessed to the State and driven by "labor," is hauling off the plants and properties. What "labor" is doing is to carry away individualistic enterprise, merging it into the Socialistic State, and themselves into slavery.

The reason they are doing this is that they see no other way whereby industry may possibly be made to yield the mass of people livings than by harnessing it to the State, and so force it to contribute of its yield enough to feed in some sort of decency those who would serve it. That which passes for sociology today, a monstrosity wearing the label of the Universities, while condemning this, shows no other way, and the people, unguided, grope for themselves. Why under such circumstances, would "labor" not fall upon the goose of the golden eggs, and carry it off and kill it? At that feast it is no purpose of theirs that Mr. Shonts and his group shall share. It has been the place of Mr. Shonts and his kind to show the laborer the sociological system whereby the entrepreneur may ride securely with the rest, and all have abundance, and they have not done it. They have defaulted in the intelligence to do so. And if the laborer brings forward a scheme of his own, and with it carries off the works, what right have they to expect themselves to be in on "a partnership agreement with industry and the government?" They will have nothing of the sort; they have the spectacle of the bourgeois in Russia under the Bolsheviki to enable them to chart their locality and get their bearings under the regime that socializes industry; for that movement always evolves excesses, and its first effects are to efface the property owning class in industry.

Let Mr. Shonts and his associates, however, be comforted in this: That the Call System will save them. And through it their several establishments will be preserved to them, while at the same time the laborer will be made satisfied in the full meet of his just reward.

#### CHAPTER X.

#### THE MONOPOLY OF MIGRATION.

Emigration, a Movement Under the Seventh Law, Made Active by the Protective Spirit, to Spread Civilization Over the Earth-The Peoples of the World Sealed up Against Each Other by Laws of Immigration Exclusion—The United States the Leader in These Laws, Which Violate the Laws of Nature—Why Such Exclusion Laws Are Passed—They Are Wholly Economic— Their Effect is to Allow Population to Increase in Both Emigrant and Immigrant Nations Without a Corresponding Rise of Initiative, so Producing the Necessity for War in Order to Prevent Famine.

Emigration is an effort of one, while obeying the first three, and perhaps the fourth, laws, to escape from the operation of the seventh law. This latter law-population tends to increase faster than the mind unfolds to provision—institutes a pressure upon the mind, pushing it to ever greater exertion to use the earth (i. e., industry) to get a living. It operates similarly to such a case as this: Say a man is single: he has only himself to support; this requires a certain amount of exertion. He marries, and adds another to his burden; then, in order to acquire sustenance, he must put forth further exertion. He has a child, and he must increase his energies; another child, and he must again expand his efforts, and so on. If we shall consider that the plane on which this man was living at the start was that of a laborer, so that he could not recede to a cheaper grade of living as his family increased, and he could not rise to higher ways of earning a living because he was uneducated or unskilled, that man, through the pressure of his increasing expenses, would seek to escape from that society. If he were an agricultural laborer he would move in direction of free land, were he able to do so, and, after free land gave out in the United States, he would, some years ago, have gone to South America; later he would have settled in Canada. If he were other than an agriculturist he would have moved in the direction of initiative, where industry was calling for labor, and would have come to the United States to take work in a great industrial plant, holding his job during a spell of business activity, and returning to his own country when work got slack, as under the

Protective System it is bound to do. He thus would become one of the "birds of passage" so greatly despised by the labor unions.

Such is the immigrant, who comprises not only the man burdened with an increasing family, but also the single man who can find no work in his home place for the same reason-his mind has not risen to a way to get from his home society a living; it cannot take his services. If he were a more excellent workman, he could get the job of another and so hold on; but his mind has not developed to such height; he can find nothing to do, so he must go some place else where opportunity awaits. In other words, in his emigrating he is seeking to escape the effects of a law with which he cannot harmonize, which therefore he cannot obey. It was through the operation of this law, acting as it does in the presence of the Prorective System, which has always existed and along with which it only can act (for under the Call System it becomes ineffective) that civilized man was gotten over the earth to settle it up in all parts, just as through the operation of the sixth law savage man was forced over the earth, while the fifth law acted to hold down population to keep it within reach of sufficiency of food supply, because people neither emigrated fast enough, nor raised the mind rapidly enough to keep all their units nourished. The intolerable society characterized by want and war, pushed the emigrant out of it into the far regions of the earth, and this kept up throughout the Great Cycle.

When, however, the Cycle closed, when the earth became settled up by civilized man so that all the land was privately owned and the price of access thereto adjusted to the opportunity that it offered, allowing from industry bare wages to the user, the balance going to the landowner in rent or rent capitalized in price, the agricultural immigrant ceased to move. Then with the country settled after the fashion of the Protective Spirit—most of the land idle, some part of it partially used, and a little wholly used—there followed a spurt of industrial briskness manifest while industry, under the pressure of the influences which produce monopoly, was gathering into great monopolistic centers.

This industry called for foreign labor—immigrants. These, in response to the seventh law operating in their countries, came to us; but here, too, the same law was at work. There were millions in this country who were not able to raise their minds to find places in industry, who had been pressed out of industry by the constricting forces of the Protective Spirit, who were both incapable of performing the work which the foreign laborer came to do, and who, even if they could have done the work, were unwilling to accept the living—i. e., wages—which accompanied the rendition of such service; although in fact this influence did not operate upon them as greatly as is supposed, since failing to get this living they got none at all. In other words, they were unemployed—in famine.

For these people there was no escape from the conditions which surrounded them. No country invited them, so they did not become emigrants. British Columbia did, indeed, take off a few of our agricultural laborers, drawn by such free land as it had, which was not very attractive climatically; but in South America the state of things no longer appealed to immigrants, at least not from the United States. These Americans, therefore, who were on the lower planes of life, feeling most keenly the effects of the seventh law, unable to escape through emigration, unable to raise their minds to higher ways of industry which society would accept, therefore sought the use of force to hold what opportunity for co-operation there was in society to themselves as against the immigrants, just as the labor unionists employ private force to hold to themselves the work in society against the non-unionist. The force they employed was that of the State. They did not use the State to take the entrepreneur by the shoulder and say to him: "You shall not employ Petrovich or Boletti, for you must employ us," any more than the sumptuary supplies monopolist takes by the shoulder the saloonkeeper and says: "You shall not sell whiskey to Casey"; but as the sumptuarist enacts laws which keeps whiskey away from the saloon man, so the group in question enacted laws which kept the immigrant away from the entrepreneur-out of the country-leaving industry to find its labor amongst the less comfortably employed within the country, or amongst the unemployed, those whom by reason of their several inabilities industry had rejected.†

These laws were laws of immigration exclusion. The first of them were passed by the Congress of the United States in 1882, directed against the Chinese. They came into existence at the period where, we have noted, I place the close of the Great Cycle, 1880, and they created a monopoly which I call monopoly of migration.

This monopoly, like tariff monopoly, is effected through obstruction by the State of the highways. The State is made guilty, not of misfeasance, in negligently permitting the highways to become closed, but of positive malfeasance in deliberately shutting them to some in order that a preferred group may have exclusively the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> A resolution adopted at a labor convention held in St. Louis several years ago, demanded of Congress that all foreign laborers be kept out of the country until all laborers within the country were employed.

use thereof. It is the same principle as that which we saw in the chapter **Monopoly of Highways**, where a preferred group are given by the State the exclusive privilege of using the highways to carry traffic.

Today the world is practically sealed up against people moving to and from its several parts. The continents of the white races are closed against the continents of the darker races. The white races of Europe are shut away from the white races of America. The people of Canada are shut from the people of the United States.

If a man be a manual laborer he may not come from China or Japan to the United States, to Canada, to Australasia, to Mexico, to South America, and so on over the world. Colored peoples, even within the white countries, may not pass from place to place. The British subjects of India may not enter the country of the British subjects of North America and the Antipodes. Chinese or Japanese on one island of the United States may not pass to another island or to our continent; wherever our flag is raised this policy is installed. We go to Asia, take possession of their islands, and at once cast off intercourse between the peoples of Asia. The people of China may not enter the islands of their own continent which are under our dominion.

We can see, therefore, that the same influence which was operating within the United States which moved us to shut out immigration with exclusion laws, was operating in like manner in all parts of the world, which, like ourselves, had previously received immigrants. Those countries of Europe such as Germany, where by extraordinary endeavor, through the activities of the State, initiative had arisen to call for immigrants, passed laws affecting the number who might enter, and limiting to months the time during which they would be permitted to remain.

Exclusion laws are leveled distinctly against laborers; and the ground of objection to these is occupation. We cannot, however, classify migration monopoly under occupations monopoly, for the reason that the effect of the political law is not narrowed to the foreign laborer against the domestic laborer, albeit such is the aim of the act; but it is to shut the door of the nation upon the poor and to keep it open to the rich. For as immigrants are always poor the condition is that only the rich, a group few in number, are free to go over the earth, to enter countries and dwell therein. The poor are denied this right. The right of the rich hence becomes a privilege and its exercise a monopoly which they enjoy. This is not an infliction by the rich upon the poor—it is a visitation by the poor upon themselves. For, as we have seen in the case of the merchants petitioning Congress to pass an act making it lawful for a manufacturer to sell his goods with a price fixed for their resale, the merchants deprive themselves of the freedom of selling goods which they buy at prices as they will; men under the Protective System will pray the State to take their freedom from them.

So we have it that the reason why the immigrant moves from his home is to escape the effects of the seventh law. As we have noted elsewhere, the effects of the seventh law are produced by land monopoly, on which the other monopolies rest, which together engender a state of society intolerable to many, from which they are driven to escape by emigrating. With the monopolies abolished and land used to its full efficiency in consequence—which is the only way it is possible to effect full efficient use of the land—the seventh law ceases to produce its hurtful effects. That is to say, population tends to cease to increase, while initiative, then moved by ideals—aspirations and self-interest—impels men forward.

The seventh law, therefore, which is only active in the presence of the Protective System, caused people to emigrate, and the same law operating in the countries to which they moved, produced exclusion laws to keep them away. For under the pressure of land monopoly and its satellite monopolies there results a condition of more men than jobs. As the factory is fenced by the union to keep away the non-unionist, so the nation is fenced to keep away the alien. Since, as the union perceives, to admit the non-union man to the factory would enable the employer to press down wages and lengthen hours, so they think to admit the alien would but add so many more to the unemployed aggregate, pressing at the doors of the factory for employment, making the task of the union more difficult to hold the jobs for the unionists. Immigration exclusion laws are, therefore, always adopted "to protect our labor." The doctrinairs of immigration exclusion, however, are mistaken in the text of their slogan. Exclusion of immigration does not "protect our labor"-it destroys it.

We saw that while the wall of the union about the factory fencing out the non-unionist was necessary to preserve a group of laborers against an influence which tended to eliminate them all, yet the union tended to centralize and lessen the group through producing high prices and scarcity. With immigration, however, this analogy, though believed to obtain, does not follow. The factory, already hedged by the union, is not invaded by the immigrant. That is to say, the unionist is usually skilled, while the immigrant is unskilled. The immigrant is nearly always a hand worker, even in fabrications. The reason of this is that unless his migration be moved by quest of free land, he comes from a country of lower initiative, of less industrial development, than that of his destination. The immigrant increases product and so cheapens food and other elements of provision, thus increasing the real wages of the unions, while through stirring industry through adding to wealth, he calls back into industry those who have already been displaced therefrom by the processes of the Protective Spirit.

Immigration, left free, even under the Protective System, would manifest its movement in two ways—the unskilled would proceed from the country of lower to the country of high development, and the skilled from the country of the higher to the country of lower development. Through both movements the country of lower civilization is calling for light from the higher civilization. Thought tends to a level throughout the race the world around.

The lure which draws the laborer from the lower to the higher country is high wages. Industry in the United States can pay higher wages to a Chinese than he can find in China. He hence comes here. The reason we can pay him higher wages is that through our higher effects we can take his labor and make more from it for himself and for us than could be done in his own country. Two laborers in Siam with a double end hand saw will turn off two hundred feet of boards per day. Their wages will be ten cents per day. They cannot be paid more, for their product does not allow it. We can take those two men into a mill in Washington, put them on saws and they will turn off a hundred thousand feet a day. We will raise their wages to two dollars per day. In other words, thus much of the lumber that they saw we give to them, the balance remains with our society.

Suppose it were even possible that these two Stam sawyers displaced two white sawyers in Washington, as the unions tell us would be the case. If in so displacing them production of lumber ceased, the change would be a loss to society; but with the change production goes on; the whites relieved are followed into society by the same amount of lumber that was before turned off by the saws. This lumber tends to employ them in other capacities. They may then become carpenters and find they have lumber wherewith to work. Where, however, we observe that the Protective Spirit has operated to make more carpenters than there are jobs at carpentry, that although hundreds of thousands of people want houses which, through failure of sufficient yield from society for their services, they are unable to buy, this turning loose of the would-be carpenter from the lumber mill becomes a calamity; and when it is seen also that the lumber yards are stocked up with "stuff" which they cannot sell for the same reason that the proposed carpenter could find no entry to that trade, notwithstanding the thousands wanting houses, as we remarked, the idea of production of lumber at the mill going on without his services, creating more product to employ him as a carpenter, does not impress him.

Nevertheless the movement of migration is not, as it is commonly thought, analogous to the entry into the population of so many ineffectives, but it is the addition of initiative. It greatly increases the productivity of the people to whom it is added. Let us assume. for instance, that a man can make a coat a day. That one thousand workmen enter the country and immediately find jobs making coats, and there is turned out in that country through this new labor one thousand coats per day. What is the difference between this and a labor-saving machine which feeds in cloth at one end and turns out a finished coat at the other, which requires only one man to handle it and whose output is a thousand coats per day? If we shall find that the cost of running this machine in fuel, oil, repairs, rent, overhead and so on, is equal to the food, clothing and shelter consumed by the thousand men, we shall have the analogy complete. We shall say that the thousand men displaced other labor by making coats cheaper than they; so did the machine. And for this reason the machine was ferociously opposed at its introduction by the frame breaking rioters of Manchester, just as the immigrant is now opposed. But both machine and immigrant increase wealth in the community through the same influence that draws the machine there-the presence of industrial demand which comes forward as the race mind unfolds. If this demand is not appeased the race mind will halt and find itself too feeble to feed increasing population, until war comes forward and relieves the stress by cutting numbers back.

We have noted that migration monopoly is specifically obstruction of the highway. The edges of one zone of privilege, however, overlap and coalesce with those of others, for migration monopoly is no less highway monopoly than it is land monopoly. When we remark, for instance, that a comparative handful of whites, say five millions, lay hold of a great continent—Australia—and declare that none shall there enter and reside save "Europeans", a term which in practice proves to be **British**, and that this policy is also carried out in Canada and in Africa, we have it that the group of a single nationality has fenced a vast range and proportion of the earth's area against the balance of the human race. The effect of this, of course, is to keep the land idle, to prevent its use for the benefit, not alone of themselves, but of mankind. What is the difference between the Australian labor unionist keeping the continent idle with immigration exclusion laws until the country in the far aeons of time, it is expected, may be settled by British whites, and the landed aristocrat of England who keeps the moors of his estates idle until, he hopes, those who would work the lands will pay him his price in cash or in kind? Manifestly, the effect of both inhibitions are the same—idle lands, and starving men.

The failure of the State to compel orderly use of the earth through Calling the social value, added to the abuse by the State of its duty to keep open the highways, results in an enormous scope of the earth being not used. And while the land with its negative potentiality to industry lies idle, those units bearing its concomitant positive potentiality must needs be slain by war, to prevent the passing of the civilization of their countries.

The immigrant does not propose to remain in the foreign country when he leaves his home. What he desires is to make a sum of money abroad and return. This plan he will carry out if he can. Returning to his country he employs in industry the knowledge he has acquired abroad, plus the money he has saved. The effect of this is to lift to higher co-operation the units of his own country.

The higher rise of industry in China or Siam tends to call upon the higher country for skilled labor and so move **that** immigration. White superintendents are required to install and manage factories and other enterprises. So with free migration there is a circle of movement between the peoples of the lower and the higher countries, the quality of which is to draw forward in progress the people of the lower country and to push forward progress amongst the people of the higher country. All this is in obedience to the first, sixth and seventh laws. For if, as we have elsewhere remarked, it is the law that population increases faster than wild food replenishes, then man has a right to move from one spot to another over the earth. And a right held by savage man cannot be denied civilized man, albeit that in exercising the fifth law—killing to reduce population—he now does this as an act of the organized State rather than his own act, which he did in the days when there was no such State.

Immigration exclusion laws obstruct the operation of these three laws and of this natural process. They prevent, through the medium of movement of the social unit, people coming in contact with each other in their persons, just as protective tariff laws prevent the peoples from coming in contact with each other through their goods. We hence find population pressing forward in the lower country without the initiative arising amongst the people necessary to feed their increasing populations, burdened also as they are with land monopoly and its offspring, which tend ever to lessen even the industry which they have.

Without this light being imparted to it by the higher civilization, the increasing populations must follow lower occupations than they otherwise would. They must cling to agriculture. There comes to be insufficient land to feed the people in this way. The nation must have manufacturers to increase production and to employ population, emigration to transfer population, or war to reduce population, else famine ensues. The nation cannot have manufactures, for tariffs abroad prohibit trade; she cannot have emigration, for exclusion laws abroad prohibit immigration; and she is thereby denied the right even to develop manufactures. She cannot suffer famine to appear, so she has war.

Can anyone blame Japan for taking possession of China, if she can, when we have, in the ways described above, blocked her in every other direction?

The cruel oppression which migration monopoly is now visiting upon the world is evidenced in the food shortage of the United States, and the difficulty we are experiencing in contributing sufficient food to supply the Allied soldiers and to keep alive the populations of their countries. We have in the United States enormous stretches of idle agricultural lands. We could procure from Asia abundance of excellent agricultural labor. Indeed, the Chinese Six Companies of San Francisco, at our entry into the war, addressing President Wilson, offered to facilitate the coming of two hundred thousand Chinese farmers, who would enormously increase the food supplies of the country.\* Instantly, upon this tender being made,

"San Francisco, July 12, 1918. "Editor Chronicle: It is stated by the Food Administration that 'sugar is scarce' and that we must abstain therefrom. Is it not true that in Java there is stored up in warehouses the sugar of four harvest seasons past, several million tons, sufficient to supply our entire consumption in the United States for two years? Is it not also true that our present tariff renders the admission of such sugar into this country prohibitive? The Java producers are said to be willing to ship their sugar at actual cost, which, with the nominal freight, would lay it down at San Francisco much below the current market, but because of the high customs duty which must be paid it is not permitted to enter. If Congress as an emergency war measure would temporarily suspend this duty we could doubtless secure all the sugar requisite to satisfy the imperative demands of our country and at the same time reduce the present high price to normal. It is stated that ample space is available to move any tonnage that the United States Government would desire. T. F. ALLEN."

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<sup>\*</sup> Other monopolies bear upon the condition of a nation in war, just as does the monopoly of migration. Thus we note an effect of the tariff monopoly:

the privilegists of migration monopoly became vocal, and such was the strength of their vociferations that they should down the man-ifest disposition of the Washington authorities to puncture the ex-clusion wall with a breech sufficiently large to admit these agriculturists.

The real purpose of tariffs in war (of course, under the Protective System, for only under it can war exist) is not to provide opportunity to particular industries, which otherwise, to the extent so created, would not exist, for with full co-operation effected by war tariffs are not needed, but to get revenue to carry on the war. This keeps out sugar, as Mr. Allen notes. The keeping out of sugar presses out of existence a number of industries which rest upon sugar. Thereby is released from industry many people who, unable to find work, voluntarily enter the army to be sustained, a percentage of whom are destroyed, for war's purpose is to reduce population, and it could not make this purpose effective if industry were to progressively enlarge, giving full employment to all of the people. War to drain off a margin must create con-ditions in society which enable it to do so. This, however, is the second phase of war. When, through operation of this phase, war, by drying up "non essen-tial" industry, has drawn into its armies all units possible, the society of the nation then being fully co-operative, it begins to extend this co-operation be-yond its borders, and does this by removing tariffs, repealing migration exclusion laws, etc. Sugar is an essential food to maintain munition workers and soldiers, and tariffs will be abolished if necessary to its admittance. Not only that, but private initiative failing, the government itself will bring it into the country and distribute it to the consumers. The tariff-free sugar would not restore the non essential cake and candy factories, for these could not procure necessary labor, since not only would the labor be unavailable, but the State would keep them closed through pronouncing them non essential, in order that they might not tend to deflect men from the armies. Mr. Allen will find the sugar tariffs removed if he will be patient; the revenues which will be lost to the government through removal of the tariffs will be made up through taxing "excess profits" of the entrepreneur, the tax ultimately reaching the "excess wages" of the highly paid laborer, the process tending to draw towards what may be the natural level or gradation of the incomes of the people, all being employed.<sup>†</sup>

I may add that inquiry in shipping circles of San Francisco disclosed that the reason why sugar was not being imported was that "sugar did not pay freight enough." The cargo space was given to products that could pay more freight. Were sugar able to pay more freight it could come in. Amidst free conditions the price with us of foreign sugar would be determined by two factors-the demand and the internal supply. The pressure of the demand would be measured on the barometer of price. This would first pull on domestic stocks, and if these did not come forth in sufficient volume to meet it, the price would keep moving higher until it drew upon foreign supplies. Price at present, however, is not fixed by stocks and demand, but by the Food Commissioner. Otherwise price would go so high that the poor, it is assumed, could not get sugar at all. Price therefore being arbitrarily forbidden by the State to rise, the foreign shipper must get into the country through whatever orifice is allowed between the top of the tariff wall and the under surface of the price beam which stretches above it. This slot is not large enough to allow Java sugar to enter. Hence, as the restaurants tell us, "sugar is scarce." † See Chapter, The Office of War, herein.

Accordingly, suffering ourselves to be dominated by privilege rather than resist its evil, we deny ourselves food, shorten the supply to our armies, while we are forced to Germanize the nation with a food commissioner to regiment each household. Nothing, indeed, is more wonderful than that people will submit to suffering rather than throw off monopoly. The only reason why such thing exists is that the people do not understand the matter, wherefore we get fully in sight the great fact that the twin handmaids of privilege are **ignorance** and **force**.

Let it be understood that immigration exclusion laws are wholly economic. They are based on the principle that for a workman to enter the country and find work is to "take the bread out of the mouth of a workman here." The doctrine assumes that work is a fixed quantity, like an apple, which, being divisible into so many pieces, if an outsider enters and takes a piece there will be less left to divide among those present. The notion found its support in the old wage-fund theory of political economy, which is now, happily, exploded. We find the same principle expressed in laws which prevent prisoners from making goods for sale to the public, and in union rules against the employment of apprentices. Understanding the above, we shall not be deceived when we find the arguments for exclusion laws asserting that Asiatics must be kept out because "they do not assimilate with our people"; or that Europeans must be kept out "because they cannot read in their own language"; whereby the misfortune of the immigrant in his native environment is made to deny him a right which in the past we boasted was allowed to all men by "the land of the free."

Immigration exclusion laws are predicated upon the assumption that men are natural enemies. That is, that it is their natural quality in serving each other to visit injury; that it is the character of human society that conferring benefit upon one is to harm another; that the way to prevent this harm from occurring is to keep the people apart, to render them dis-co-operative with society; that society prospers most the further people can be kept from each other, one group from another. The pretext on which the political law is based which effects this end may be anything that is expedient-a political boundary, religious tenets, schooling, color of skin, language, even attire and methods of preparing food, have all served as grounds for enactment of legislation to keep people from coming in contact with each other to communicate mind with mind in the great forward movement of progress. Such laws, therefore, are perfect expressions of the Protective Spirit, which tends backward towards isolation and savagery, which invokes from Nature war to check its course in this direction, and to save civilization.

#### CHAPTER XI.

# THE MONOPOLY OF SUMPTUARY SUPPLIES.

The Pressure of Rent Upon Industry With Its Back Against the Wall of Unused Social Value, Forces People Into a Low Order of Occupations, Which in a Free Society Would Not Exist— The Saloon, the Bawdy House, Etc.—The War Waged Upon These by the Moralists—The Remedies They Propose—Their Wrongful Use of the State to Suppress Conduct Resting Upon Agreement of the Parties and Which Does Not Involve Injury to Others, Hence Does Not Fall Within the Laws of Nuisance or Conspiracy—The Natural Office Performed by the Weak in Society.

We have seen that in the presence of a force in society which throws yearly millions from industry into unemployment and famine, society holds on to the strongest and sacrifices the weaker. These weaker will crowd into such openings as they can create, operating a character of industry which in well-ordered society would not exist at all. So we find the thief plying his trade, the prostitute flourishing, the low saloon ranging in long avenues; little children, wan and weak, trudging toward the factory. In addition, surrounding these there are large numbers of people who cannot get into even these types of ways of making a living, who simply suffer in famine, roaming the country as tramps and petty marauders; while another multitude, incredibly large, are sustained in a partially nourished condition by their friends.

All of these people tend to become weakly, sick or vicious. They are the reservoirs of infinite diseases, from insanity to consumption. They are short lived, and tend rapidly to disappear. Their quality is to contaminate the co-operatives, and so they are a source of great weakness to society. The number of these nonco-operatives tends to increase, their zone to enlarge, pressing inwardly upon the body of co-operatives.

These people and their condition, under the Protective System, are dealt with by the moralists. We find the preachers of the churches making constant war upon them. The Protective Spirit knows no other way of combating an evil than through force. Hence the moralists reach out for the State to repress these persons. If a man will supply beer or liquor to men who would drink such, they endeavor to prohibit these from being manufactured or sold. If a woman would enter prostitution, lock her up and pay no attention to the cause of her downfall. If the thief would steal, send him to the penitentiary. They arrest the tramps and give them "floaters", whereby they may journey onward to the next town. They prohibit the goods of the child employer from passing state boundaries, that such may not find a market, and so on. They are dealing simply with symptoms.

These operations do not remove any of the several evils, nor prevent increase of the numbers committed to them; but they tend momentarily to suppress the victim and to preserve the remaining co-operatives, making society possible for the more favored to live in until the day when war shall restore full co-operation, and eliminate these unfortunates.

But the methods employed by the prohibitionists, like the methods employed by the union, produce harmful effects in their endeavor to preserve a portion of society. The State becomes, in many ways, high-handed in its absorption of the rights of the citizen. While it must always imprison the thief, or hang the murderer, it has no power to deny to me my right to drink whiskey, or Jones' right to sell it to me. My life is my own, as is also my body. The duty I owe to my family may cause me to place the strongest restraint upon my conduct in destroying it with drink, with gluttony, with over exertion; but a group of persons, it matters not of how high standing in an ecclesiastical denomination, have no right to use the State to regiment my behavior because such does not accord with their concepts of what it should be to promote my own healthy existence.

And if by carrying on my career of circumspect debauchery I should become a charge of the State, and the State thereby be assumed to be injured by my conduct, what is the State's remedy? To forbid Coleman his cocktails at his dinner by suppressing Haggerty from selling liquor? Not at all. If I and Haggerty have conspired to cause the State to pay money for my support and that of my family through rendering me inefficient through drink, I being financially irresponsible, Haggerty should be mulcted for damages therefor, just precisely as if he had, through his wilful act, run over my body with his automobile.

But as between Schultz with his beer brewery and Samuels with his soda water factory, what right has the State to choose? Society consumes daily a certain tonnage of beverages. It is purveyed in such matter by certain fabricants and vendors. Society must drink; if it cannot have "hard" drinks it will have "soft". Certain gentlemen of the cloth say to society that they object to its having the hard, and the State, at their motion, sustains their objection; thereupon society turns to pop and sarsaparilla. Samuels without action of his own has been made a monopolist. He enjoys his right to co-operate with society, which has been wrongfully enlarged by the right which the State has taken from Schultz.

It is the essence of the prohibitionists' position that the citizen is not able to care for himself in the matter of his private life. The State, hence, must be moved to do so. This in a prior age was entirely true. The despotic State existed because men had not spiritually developed to be free. But for the handling under the lash of the State of about every incident of man's existence, men, unable to obey law, unable to maintain order if left to their own shift, would have destroyed each other in internecine war.

It is the quality of the Protective Spirit to revert society toward the plane of savage life. The weakened and disco-operative units become so numerous, their agencies for evil are so great, that again on the downward path the despotic State is reached. Society, as in the past, must be regimented by the State if society is to be preserved.

Always, even under the Call System, there will be weak in society. They perform a certain office. They are the datum plane from which ethical standards rise. They present the abyss before the eyes of those who might be morally lax, warning them of the gulf into which they may fall. The true remedy for those within the gulf is not the clubs of constables, but is the opportunity for decent work and the suasion and sympathy of the pure. The existence in society of the debased calls forth the outpourings of the souls of those who would effect the moral regeneration of the submerged. By these means those who thus work are themselves strengthened, a strength which would not accrue but for those upon whom it works. So Nature tends to pull the spirits of men toward a level, lifting those who are cast down, moving all upward with a strength produced by the exertion so expended.

The question may arise as to whether sumptuary supplies monopoly might not be really a part of occupations monopoly, thereby reducing the basic monopolies to six. It is true, the manufacturer of, say, soft drinks, is engaged in an occupation, as is also the maker of ardent spirits. But it is not the occupation, but the commodity, against which the political law is leveled. One commodity is suppressed, whereby a competing or substituted commodity possesses exclusively the market. The two monopolies, therefore, cannot be brought under the same head.

#### CHAPTER XII.

#### SOCIETY.

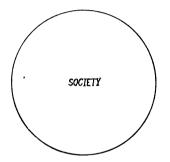
Society is the Common Employer for Whom All Work—It Employs and Pays Each Social Unit—Everyone Would Work to His Full Capacity if He Could, in Order to Get the Things that He Desires—The Trifling Proportion of the People in Protective Society who Have Comfortable Livings—The Margin of Non-co-operation and the Crisis Stage, When War Must Occur to Prevent Lapse of Progress Through Famine.

We have noted that society consists of individuals co-operating to use the earth to get livings. That men who do not co-operate in so using the earth, but use it without co-operating (harvesting wild food), are, while in association, really not in society. Society, therefore, is the employer of each unit. One does not work for another, but for society. He is paid by society. What he receives from society is his food, clothes, shelter and transportation, or what is commonly called his "board and clothes." This is all anyone can get, for it is all that he can consume. However much property a man may own, therefore, what he really has is what he takes from society—what he consumes. The balance belongs not to him, but to society.

Mr. Harriman is said to have owned certain railroads, and was therefore the object of much envy and some adverse legislation. He really owned no railroads. What he owned was a lot of printed paper locked up in a vault, called stocks and bonds. The railroads were not used by Harriman—they were used by society. The user of a thing is its real owner for the time of its use. I occupy a room at a hotel. That room, its furniture and effects, is, during the term of my occupancy, as completely mine as the victuals which they serve me in the dining room.

Thus Society need have no fear of the rich man, the "capitalist." All laws aimed at curbing the accumulation of wealth—graduated income tax, taxes upon estates, and so on—are pernicious. The accumulation of wealth is the lure which moves men in society to exert their highest energies for the social benefit. Men can only help others by helping themselves. And so marvelously has Nature arranged it that they must help others first, before they can help themselves. Before you can get your pay for a thing you must deliver it, for a service you must render it. This law acts precisely as happiness is a reflex of the happiness of others. No one can be happy alone. The harmful thing about the rich man is not that he has wealth and is making money, but that society being now organized upon privilege, he makes it through monopoly. Others are pressed away from their equal right to co-operate with society in order that he may exclusively prosper. And the more money he makes the more power he possesses to thrust others aside—to exercise privilege.

We may express an idea of society by drawing a circle, thus:

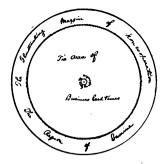


We shall say that here is society which is fully co-operative; that is, all of the units are employed to their several full efficiencies.

Each unit would be fully employed if society would permit him to become so. The reason is that he wants always more than he can get. He is never satisfied. As Professor Nicholson says, "everyone wants everything."

But the only way a man has of getting anything from society short of sheer presents—is to give his services. Hence, in order to get much and ever more, he will, if he be permitted, give all the service he can render, and will strive to make it continuously more excellent, hence more remunerative to himself. Society gives him very little as compared with that which he gives it. She is a ruthless profiteer. The man who invented the caterpillar farm tractor made more than a million dollars out of it. A great reward, you say? In one district in the northwest corner of the United States, that machine increased the grain crop more than ten millions of dollars in one year.

But society has never yet been fully co-operative. It will be such when it acquires the Call System—and only then. At present we have society in this shape:



The small spot in the center represents the fully co-operatives. These people, mostly privilegists, comprise about two per cent of the units of society. That is to say, in the United States for instance, those who in 1914 paid taxes upon incomes of \$3000 per year and upwards comprised 357,515 individuals. If we shall treat all these as heads of families and allow five persons to each payer, we shall have 1,787,575 people out of a population of a hundred millions who enjoyed incomes, the minimum of which, \$3000, was barely sufficient to render a family of five comfortable throughout the year. Men who are not economically comfortable cannot be efficient.

The region of the figure between the spot in the center and the zig-zag line is filled with the partially co-operative who suffer business hard times. These are the people who live on less than \$600 per year apiece, if we shall divide the family income into five parts. It is, however, only the few of this great field of ninety-eight per cent who border on the rim of the spot who get \$3000 per year and who may be said to be 100 per cent co-operative. From thence on down the degrees of co-operation lessen, until there is reached the zig-zag where co-operation ceases altogether. The field is surrounded by a border where the people are unemployed. This I call "the Fluctuating Margin of Non-co-operation." It is a region of famine.

This margin is fluctuating because the zig-zag is pushed in and out by certain forces which make for or against co-operation. Initiative expressed in invention, higher methods of performance, moral reforms, and so on, push the line outwardly, enlarging the co-operative aggregate and lessening the number of the non-co-operatives. It is pushed inwardly by land monopoly and six lesser monopolies. Its direction is inward, sloughing into famine the weakest of the co-operatives. It is momentarily halted and thrown back by the spasmotic energies of initiative, only to resume its contraction towards the center, when the counter influence of initiative has been overcome.

The margin of non-co-operation will enlarge until the co-operatives become unable to feed them. Kitchen door hand-outs, individual private charity, organized private charity, public charity, the power of the State itself becomes taxed and threatened. The pressure of the zig-zag line increases, ever tightening upon the co-operatives. The process acts like chrystallization forming in a saturated solution—imperceptible at first, then very rapidly.

This is what I call the crisis stage.

The world was gathering towards that stage in the summer of 1913. Population had increased to greater numbers than the develment of the mind had attained to knowledge of ways to use the earth to feed them.

Millions upon millions the world around were in famine. In the United States it was estimated that eight millions of our wageearners were unemployed. In San Francisco thousands were camped on vacant lots beyond the limits of the town, and the Mayor appointed a "dollar day" on which house-to-house canvasses were made for funds wherewith to feed the enfamined. Ragged armies under Captains Kelley and others were packing the thoroughfares at night listening to socialistic orators, and by day departing for other parts, aimlessly wandering upon the highways, filling the countryside with petty thieves. And what was the case on this Coast obtained throughout the nation. In Europe the condition was far worse. A third of the population of England was in famine. Tramp colonies existed in all European countries—a vain effort to relieve the unemployed problem which was pressing everywhere.

It is at this stage that war **must** occur to reduce population, else the culture of the race would be lost and man would fall back to the savage plane.

## CHAPTER XIII

## THE FIVE PHILOSOPHICAL PROJECTS FOR STAYING THE DISINTEGRATING FORCES OF SOCIETY

A Categorical List of the Several Proposals—They Are All Ineffective to Their Ends—No Real Difference Between the Protective System and Socialism—The Variance Lies Only in the Groups of Individuals Who Shall Manage the State—With the Protective System it is the Propertied Class—With Socialism, a Small Group of the Propertyless Class—The Proletariat Cannot be Benefited by Socialism.

That there are in society these forces tending to its disintegration is, of course, not known. The cause of society's wasting has not heretofore been isolated and shown forth. It is not known that the cause is privilege, that privilege issues out of various monopolies, which I have shown. What has heretofore been seen is the effects, not the causes, of sociological disturbance, and the effects are realized only by some of those who feel them. Those who do not consciously feel them deny that there is anything whatever the matter with society in its arrangement. They attribute all the unemployment and absence of industry—lack of co-operation—to the shortcomings of the affected individuals themselves. "Everything would be all right with that fellow if he'd just show a little more get-up."

Those, however, who are thrown out of industry, or who feel the squeeze of shortened opportunity, gather into certain groups, knitted together by continuity of thought upon the cause of the phenomenon. These may be divided into the following groups:

- (1) Socialists.
- (2) Anarchists.
- (3) Single Taxers.
- (4) Monevites.
- (5) Moral Reformers.

I do not include with these the Call System, for it is not a project or contrivance, but a natural order; or, rather, an interpretation of the laws of nature operative in human society. In no sense is it a device.

Each and all of these projects are ineffective to attain its object. None of them can arrest the forces disintegrating society, and some of them if put into operation would demoralize society. The Socialists call upon the State to employ the unit in utilitarian industry. The State is, in fact, the ultimate parent of the citizen. If his natural parents abandon him, the State must nourish the foundling. If he be sick without aid, the State in its hospital must give him care. If he be infirm and without nourishment, the State must sustain him, for such service as he may be able to give, at its workhouse or county farm. If he dies without property or friends, the State must bury him; and if he leaves property without successors or legatees, the State is his heir. All this is the State's proper function in its maintenance of order.

Such being the fact, the Socialists can see but a small step if the State assumes the function of conducting all the industry and employing all the people. Surely the State cannot let a man starve, and since society is now so organized that it is constantly throwing millions into famine, why not make of the State an institution that sees to it that everyone is employed, and the wealth thus produced so distributed that everyone may be fed? Is it not self-evident that the power of industry is now such that everyone in society productively employed could in a few hours each day produce enough of all things to provision everyone with whatever he might desire in abundance and comfort? To the notion of the Socialist, all that is needed to attain this end is a fitting application of the force of the State.

The scheme, albeit it is precisely the direction in which the Protective System has for decades been sweeping the world, cannot accomplish its object, and cannot secure harmony to society. The reason it cannot do so is that it interferes with the free operation of the seventh law—that as population increases initiative must arise. For men to generate initiative they must have abundant industrial opportunity, and of infinite variety; they must be free to co-operate with society in whatever ways may individually seem meet to them; they must feel the responsibility for getting their own livings; and they must have the incentive to accumulate wealth and to be rewarded for their efforts with the esteem of their fellows.

Socialism does none of these things. Men work for the State, and the State cannot discharge them. They are securely billeted, and they are concerned only in getting their wages. All wealth is State wealth. They are underlings to the man above them. The lines of power, towards which the strong always reach, will lie not in individual possessions and station, but in getting some higher job in the State. These rulers feel the strength of their positions and lord it over others. The whole arrangement tends to hold back industrial rise--rise to higher levels of industrial creation---and population increases without corresponding mental development. The Socialist State is a profound despotism, an unbearable autocracy, which in its very nature must become militaristic, with its inevitable war.

The experience of both Germany and Russia with Socialism has demonstrated the impossibility of this doctrine as contributing toward practicable human benefit.

Anarchy regards the sociological inharmony as due to government, and would abolish the State with its laws, leaving each man to be guided towards his concepts of good by his own will and judgment. They with the Socialists are protestants against the present order, and are found in such agitations as in the Russian revolution fighting the monarchy without proposing constructive doctrine. Put to a test they do not destroy government, but aim to control it to their advantage. Their project is chaotic, and can never be anything more than a protest.

The Single Taxer thinks that the sociological trouble is caused by rent given to a group of individuals-namely, landlords-and not being equally distributed to all and sundry. He would have rent taken by the State for account of the citizen. He would use the entire rent, first to defray the cost of State, then disburse the balance to the citizen in pensions of various sorts, free public utilities, and the residue divided in cash equally per head among the people. The doctrine is that as the earth was made by God for man, and all men are equal, they are equally entitled to the value of land-the social value. This is not a fact. The value of land is a State fund, not an individual fund, as the Single Tax thinks. Yet no more of it can be taken by the State than is needful for its support, which, however, must be such a quantity as will compel efficient use of the land on which the social value rests. The land owner is the steward of the State in charge of the social value, and the measure of it which the State does not take is rightfully his This in practice would be much the larger proportion of reward. the social value.

The defect in the Single Tax is that, like socialism, it tends to destroy initiative, hence violates the seventh law. It destroys initiative first by stripping the land of all value to its owner—who under the natural or Call System would be its user, for, save in a few instances, every man would own the land he used—reducing, therefore, the user to a tenant of the State, lessening his rewards from the land and lowering incentive to use land; and, second, by weakening the energies of the people through distribution of gifts from land value parceled to them, which they receive because they are members of society and as such assumed to be equally entitled to the value of land. The Single Tax does not perceive that the real trouble with society is that the part of the earth within society is not efficiently used, and that the remedy is in effecting this, which the Call System will do.\*

A fourth group of protestants against the existing order of society regard the trouble as due to insufficient supply of "the circulating medium." This idea has from time to time come into politics under the names of "Greenback", "Bimetalist" and other movements. It is resisted by the academic professors of economics, who generally deny the existence of any real ground of criticism of the sociological arrangement, holding that whatever pustule of disturbance may momentarily erupt upon the complexion of society may easily be remedied by the application of a legislative plaster. They vigorously contend that there is in fact not too little money in existence, but. too much, and that if any sociological disturbance exists at all, it is due to this fact. That because of the increase in the supply of gold, moving under the stamp of the State through the avenue of free coinage, prices have been made generally higher. It is so simple, they assert. If you double the volume of money in existence, money thereby halves its purchasing power and you must pay twice as much for the things you buy. The remedy is to have less money. It is unnecessary to say that these doctrinaires are profoundly wrong.

The fifth group, those who hold to the belief that moral rise of men will cure the trouble in society, include the religionists. Their doctrine has had a potent influence in the world, always for good, but it is powerless as a corrective of the prevailing untoward sociological phenomena. Its doctrine is, "do unto others as you would have others do unto you." This is not possible of application as a working rule in society under the Protective System. Under the Call System, while it would never be realized, yet there would be an enormous relaxation from present methods in its direction. The principle of the doctrine is self-abnegation, a looking to the interests of others rather than to those of one's self. Generosity of conduct, kindliness of disposition, does indeed sweeten all transactions in which they are employed, and when business comes generally to be done in this spirit it will be a happiness to perform business,

<sup>\*</sup>It has been thought by some that the Call System and the Single Tax are really the same. Though having a few points of similarity, they are upon the whole antithical. The differences are set forth in a small book, called **The Call System versus The Single Tax**, which I have condensed from a chapter in the third volume of **The World Question and Its Answer** and which is now on the market, to which those who desire to pursue the inquiry are referred.

contrasting with the present where too often one side is driven to make the deal by his dire necessities, of which the other takes outrageous advantage. But when all is said, the natural course is for each side to look to its own and not concern itself with the interests of the other. When men are entirely free and equal, when they can no longer forestall and thwart each other through monopoly, this will be the method employed. In such way the transaction will result most satisfactorily to both, and each will in the largest ways be helping the other through advancing society. The theory of the Golden Rule is not workable as a basis for society; men cannot conduct business by acting from the standpoint of the interests of the opposite party. Even the making of people better, which is the aim of the moral reformers, if this increased their economic efficiencies, would, under the existing system, tend to make things worse through raising the price of land, making, therefore, land more difficult of access by industry, producing in consequence unemployment and ultimately war.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

## THE OFFICE OF WAR.

War is Nature's Scheme for Holding Back Population While the Mind Unfolds in Initiative—Without War Civilization Could Never Have Risen—Its Two-fold Purpose, Political and Economic—Its Action Upon Society is to Produce Full Co-operation, to Close the Gaps of Dis-co-operation Produced by the Protective Spirit—The Three Stages of War—How War, by Increasing Its Powers of Destruction to be Greater Than the Reproductive Power of Society, Ends Itself—War Indicates to the Mind the Way to Forever End War, But the Mind Must be Sufficiently Unfolded to Perceive it, Else War Will Continue, as Each One Closes Bearing the Seeds of Future conflict—The Present War, However, Different from All Others, in That It Presents a Settled State of Conflict, with Possible Interludes, Thereby Compelling Society to Abandon the Protective System.

If Nature had provided no way whereby the force that was thus disintegrating society might be checked, the operation would proceed until civilization was extinguished. Population would die off, just as people die in famine, millions in a day. Nature, holding to the strongest through the six monopolies, would tend to stay this as to such groups, but even these in the presence of the disintegrating force would weaken at their edges, and tend to centralize, as they in fact now do. Numbers would become so reduced that Nature with her wild life would come forward to help feed the survivors—the strongest. In India, when famine sweeps the land, the farms again become jungles, tenanted with wild beasts.

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But in this dilemma Nature, to save progress, acting under the fifth law—killing of the human by the human—provides war. War cuts back population, bringing numbers within the power of the mind to use the earth to feed themselves. There have been little wars and big wars, but all wars, more or less, effect this same end.

While the object at which war aims is economic, yet it proceeds through the political—the State. War has at all times been moving man towards the goal of equal right. Its effort has been first, in savagery, the mere holding down of population to keep it within the wild food supply; then through barbaric raids, the consolidation of tribal groups into the organized State; then the preservation of order through the dominance of religion before the State had evolved ability to provide and enforce an adequate system of written law; then making the State dominant as against religion; then bringing the State ever closer to the citizen, until it became fully in his grasp through the written constitution, the elective office and representative government. War pushing forward equality of man, first produced this effect upon the battlefield, as with gun powder; then sweeping aside slavery it delivered the equal ballot into his hands, and so gave the citizen control over the State, that through it he might effect his economic regeneration, when the day came that knowledge how to do so was revealed to him; and having effected this end, the true reign of equal right and perpetuar peace amongst the humans, which is to last forever, will begin.

War, then, after an interval of peace, starts with society, more or less disco-operate, so effected by the basic monopolies. War's office is to make society co-operative. Millions are unemployed. War asserts itself as a great employer. It calls at once for armies of men, and upon industry for an enormous output. Instantly all is activity. Where before factories were running half time, they now run not only full time, but in three shifts. Where before signs "no men wanted" were on every factory fence, and multitudes were walking the streets in idleness, now there comes a demand for men. Everyone can find employment.

Those who are taken by the armies are not from the unemployed—the margin of non-co-operation. They are taken from the co-operative aggregate—the well nourished. The enfamined are not physically fit to be acceptable as recruits. When England overhauled her population to find soldiers, it was discovered that so far had physical decadence eaten into her virility that not one in three of the required ages could pass the examination. The condition in the United States was even worse.

Nature in her great scheme is filled with compensations. It is the well nourished whose duty it is to meditate the means which Nature contains for producing harmony in the race, to discover the remedy and make it effective. They have not done this. They have even rejected it when the way became known and was shown. Nature takes the well nourished from society and sends them to the front.

She takes the environmentally unfit. These are the male youths. She holds on to the civilization by preserving the environmentally fit—the men from fifty to seventy—where the knowledge and experience of the age abide, and she holds on to the race by preserving the women. She does not destroy all even of those whom she takes from society, for she restores many through the mustering out of armies when peace comes.

By taking co-operatives from society, war leaves vacancies in industry, and into these enter the non-co-operatives. These become strengthened up. Later we find "combings over" of the rejected ones—first combing, second combing, and so on, taking into the armies those originally below the physical standard, but who, having been nourished by industry, have become suitable to recruit.

Such is war's first stage.

The second stage enters when non-militaristic industry begins to close down. The general effect of war upon industry is to change it from non-military to military, and to lessen its bulk. War burdens industry with all sorts of taxes which vastly interfere with industry's operations. It quickly changes **artificial** scarcity—socalled "oversupply"—i. e., mills and firms shutting down for lack of markets, while warehouses are filled with goods which cannot be sold, and millions starve—it changes this to **natural** scarcity. The goods do not exist. Prices rise to extreme heights. Money, which otherwise would pass into industry, is absorbed by war bonds, and new enterprises must wait. Of course, the money still abides in society, but it finds different channels from those of civilian industry.

The effect of all this is to close down many lines of industry and throw men out of employment. They turn to the armies to find nourishment. Voluntary enlistments are a phenomenon of this stage. War with its right hand turns the wheel of a great chopper, to which with its left arm, surrounding population, it draws the units of society while it cuts away a margin.

The third stage closes the war with civilian industry largely eliminated, the nation converted into an armed camp, and fully cooperative. The whole energies of society are directed to reducing population. Here one side, the weaker, must succumb through lessening man power, while the stronger prevails.\*

Having for its purpose the reduction of population, war has from the beginning been increasing its efficiencies for destruction. To this end it employs the highest power in society, the State, and calls upon the mind to exercise its farthest abilities in devising ever more effective agents for slaughter. These have taken three forms:

<sup>\*</sup> It is, however, possible for the belligerents to become so nearly balanced in numerical and initiative strength that the state of war may be continuous. This would be the case today should the Central Powers secure control of Russia. This condition was approximated in the long wars of Europe: the Hundred Years War, the Thirty Years War, the War of the French Revolution—1789-1815, etc. See Chap. XX herein.

first, the engines; second, the methods of warfare; third, the quality of extending the war to destruction of an ever larger region of the social units. Starting with a club and a stone, war developed the spear, the arrow and bow, the sling; then the edged weapons, as the sword and the ax; ultimately, fire arms; then mechanical contrivances almost without number. So that battles are now fought, not alone upon the land and the waters, but beneath the surface of the land, beneath the surface of the sea, and in the air.

Contributing not less to war's destructive effectiveness have been the methods of arranging and moving the combatants upon the battlefield. Starting with attacks made between two gatherings of men without command, each fighting after his own fashion and through his own will, war passed into organization of bodies moving in an orderly manner under direction of a chief. Then we have divisional components of armies suited to the weapons and equipment-the infantry with swords, the cavalry with lances and sabres. The development of ballistics added to this artillery, and the rise of mathematics created the corps of engineers. Tactics in the conflict altered as the weapons changed. There is the frontal attack, the square defense, the cavalry charge, and so on. Today we have the mass drive. This has been produced by the machine gun. The Germans advance in "waves", which, one after another, are "mowed down"; but the rear lines, scrambling over the bodies of the dead, reach an advanced position.

It is this fact that accounts for the progress the Germans are able to make in their salients upon the allied lines. The Germans appropriate so many men to "spend" on a drive. Three hundred thousand, five hundred thousand! And having concluded to sacrifice such number to gain so much land, they proceed to do so, and are not disappointed when the number is exhausted; they are disappointed only where the land objective is not attained.

The Allies, upon the other hand, cannot bring themselves wilfully to make such sacrifices. They make their drives with tanks and barrages, and attack not in mass but in scattered formation. They do not, hence, make the great advances of the Germans. The Allies depend on wearing down the enemy's men against lines as tightly held as possible, sacrificing the minimum of their own numbers. The Allies do not know that the purpose of war is to reduce population, and that the procession of the science of destruction to the apex it has now attained demands that to win battles population must be mown away.

Also it is the quality of war to extend its destructive zone to ever larger aggregates of the social units. War started with peoples in small groups and, fusing them into large bodies, war recommenced with the large number instead of with the original few. Now we see that to prevent war through the medium of force for the peoples know no other way—nations will group themselves in ententes against other groups. In such situation war, starting between any two, means war with all.

So, as the machine gun has extended destruction to a larger number of the social units, in like manner has acted the submarine and the aeroplane. It is now possible with this latter machine to destroy inhabitants of cities remote from the scene of battle and beyond the reach of its guns; while the submarine, employed against neutrals carrying their own commerce, destroys their ships and draws them inevitably into the maelstrom of the conflict.

All of this means that the execution of war has become more effective as the power of population to replenish the supply of men has increased. Were it not for this increase in the death-dealing efficiency of the weapons and movements, population would increase more rapidly than the killings, and wars would never end. Hilaire Belloc says:

"The rate of absolute loss of an army in the field has proved in the course of the war to fluctuate between four and six per cent per month. The conscript recruiting power of the same army is, even in the mature classes, under one per cent per month. Roughly speaking, the rate of wastage has proven to be from four to five times as rapid as the maximum possible rate of recruitment."

And so it has been in all wars. Whatever the stage of development of the weapons, where war was prosecuted with vigor, its power of execution has always been greater than the capacity of the populations of the contesting nations to replenish the losses, and the war was at some time compelled to close.

But while thus working itself to an end, war, in producing cooperation of all the units of society, tries to make that co-operation permanent. It sets up conditions which at the close of the war, if not before, indicate to the mind what needs must be done to maintain permanent co-operation in society, and to overcome man's perversity, as expressed in the various basic monopolies, which make society dis-co-operative. I say war **indicates** such to the mind. Nature, it must be remembered, is dumb. She moves solely through the avenue of force. To effect her ends through reason is the task of the human. She produces in society conditions which must be interpreted. Her appeal is to the mind. But unless the mind is unfolded to be able to perceive her purposes that make for human good, and through reason—that is, the method of peace—apply the same, Nature will have exhausted her illustrations and proposals.

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She will then remain quiescent for a while; then come forward again and repeat her operation in war, until the mind, being at such later period farther advanced, comprehends her purposes, 'understands her laws, and obeys them.

To explain what I have last said, let us take England for illustration: The solution of the problem of war is use the earth in the presence of freedom and order. To use the earth orderly the State must impose such a charge upon the several parcels of valuable land as compels their efficient use, or full use of the social value. Freedom necessitates the wiping out of monopolies, amongst them protective tariffs. England at the opening of the war had a kind of free trade. She did not adopt this willingly (in 1846), but because famine had shown her that she could no longer feed her population from her agricultural lands, but must employ her people in higher industry, and use her manufactures to buy food from agricultural areas abroad. To impose tariffs upon her imports, food or other, was to increase the cost of her manufactures and lessen her foreign exchanges. So she adopted free trade, and with this she built enormous shipping, immense manufactures, vast commerce, and was enabled to have upon a tract a little larger than New York state, forty-five millions of people. But long before the outbreak of the war she had exhausted the power for good, under the Protective Spirit, of her free trade policy. One great thing she lacked— she was not efficiently using her valuable land. She had, at the start of the war, sixty-six per cent of her land surface idle, and thirty per cent of her people were in famine.

War piles upon England an enormous bonded debt. This is today probably thirty billions of dollars, and it will be greater at the war's close. England cannot pay the interest upon this debt from her unit value. She cannot restore tariffs, for these, as of old, would heighten the cost of her manufactured product, which then could not find sale in the competing markets of the world. What must she do? She must get all the income she can from the value of her lands. She must **Call** from her social value, levying charges upon the land according to the value it contains, without reference to whether that value is being used by the landowner or not.\*

<sup>\*</sup> The Congress of the United States is now very close to the point of having to break over from taxing industry to Calling from the social value. Unless it be thereto moved by this book, Congress will probably not do so until its exactions from industry threaten to stifle all industry within the country. The United States is different from the countries of Europe where population has outrun the agricultural power of the land, and foreign exchanges for manufactured goods are a necessity to resist famine, where to

This forces the land to be used to its full efficiency.

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England with her free trade, will then have, a very near approach to the Call System, which produces unbreakable harmony in society. It is a hard way for England to be taught to use her land, but Nature knows no other way. She can only drive upon the body to arouse the mind. But assuming that war shall close with a victory with the protective spirit maintained, unless what we here remark be recognized England will not understand what war has done for her. She will look upon her Call on the social value as a tax, and she will remove these taxes as she pays off her bonds; and when she lessens the Call below that required to keep the land at orderly use—full efficiency—according to its value, it will again begin to lapse towards idleness. War shall then have exhausted its illustration, its bid to the mind to perceive Nature's law and obey it, and the forces which make for war—the forces of the several monopolies—will begin to accumulate the conditions drawing forward the next war.

Not only does war effect full co-operation of the social units, but it eliminates waste, for waste is dis-co-operation. So great does the waste in Protective Society become through action of its forces of dis-co-operation that the System itself tries to remedy this, and to acquire efficiency—that is, full co-operation. The way it tries is by substituting the State for the citizen in industry, stripping the citizen thereby of his freedom. State conducting of industry, and State regimentation of the people in their private and industrial lives, is simply the Protective Spirit trying to efface the gangreen of waste, which is rendering the social units dis-co-operative, thereby destroying society.

War pushes this process strongly forward. Under it the State becomes practically the sole administrator and operator of everything. We have seen, for instance, the railroads taken over by the State, because their conducting in private hands was attended by so much waste that the transportation demanded by the war could not be carried on. This does not mean that the State employer can

burden industry with taxes is to shut off foreign sales. Here we produce an excess of agricultural yields, and may shut off foreign commerce without experiencing famine. The warning note with us, therefore, would not come as with Europe, in failure to receive foreign supplies. This condition our protectionists desire. It would come in industry, even war industry, becoming 'so suppressed that we would fail to get the necessary revenue. When this condition shall have been reached, the idea of drawing some federal revenue from the value of land will be broached in Congress, and nature shall have succeeded in breaking through the condition that holds the earth from industry in the United States. See Chapt. XVI herein.

get more service out of the employees than can the private employer. Except where the State uses its force to forbid a strike and so keep the men at work, it can get less service than can the private employer. But the State can run the cars of two competing companies over the same tracks; it can ship goods direct from point to point and not have to haul them hundreds of miles in a circuitous course by reason of agreements between companies to keep out of each other's territory. It can deliver Chicago westbound carload freight at Reno without having first to haul it to San Francisco, then ship it back to Reno, and so on. This phenemenon of waste occurs in about all lines of business under the Protective System. Men are interfered with in pursuing their business in direct paths because of obstructions placed there to divert movement in order that some others, in a wrong situation, may be made to have something to do.

War sweeps all this aside; it draws industry into the State and the State into practically a single hand, the entire being made as efficient as possible, directed to a single end, that of reducing population. The rending and consumption of materials which go along with this—the powder burned, the metal thrown, the cities fired, the ships and cargoes sunk—is not waste, it is destruction; and is the incident and necessary accompaniment of the destruction of the margin of the mass of the social units which it is war's object to effect.

Indeed, this destruction of materials renders a beneficent service in Nature's scheme of war. It makes work for the survivors. Industrial demand, therefore-or, in other words, initiative-presenting as it does opportunity to labor, is similar to land. We have seen that war reduces population, leaving a less number for the nation's landed area-that is, more land for the survivors. So with work, or initiative, there is more work for the survivors. A society which at the outbreak of the war was highly dis-co-operate, in which men by many millions were idle for lack of work, is at the close of the war converted into a society in which to replace the things that the war destroyed, summons the full services of every man, and with incident general abundance and prosperity. It is the finger of Nature pointing to the fact that she demands of the humans full co-operation; and it is an endeavor of her agent, war, to effect in society that condition, the condition which the mind of the human, if he would abolish war, must make permanent.

Despite war showing that full co-operation is the requisite of social harmony, and indicating the way by which this can be procured, the war, if it closes with a victory by either side, will close with society, as I state, filled with the seeds of future wars. This is presented in the State centralized condition of industry wrought of the war, to which we have referred. For war, it must be recognized, is essentially despotic; under it all rights of the citizen are merged in the State. It is obvious that for the State to be able to take a man out of society and kill him, which it does by sending him to a place where he is executed, its power over the citizen must be absolute.

Nevertheless, that the State shall have and exercise this power is highly necessary for the preservation of civilization. The issue of war in its political phase is nothing other than the preservation of the State. With society merged in a single nation, progress could not go on. Autonomous identity, self-determination of groups of men in political organizations exercising complete powers, is an arrangement absolutely necessary to spiritual advancement. The State has relieved the citizen of the necessity of preserving his own order, so he may proceed freely with his economic concerns in his task of getting a living. It is the duty of the State through main-tenance of order to defend the citizen. To do this is requisite that the State itself exist, and as the State has a right through the sheriff's posse to require the citizen, even at the cost of his life, to preserve internal order, so it has a right to call upon the citizen, even at the cost of his life, to preserve its existence against a foreign enemy; whereby, through such preservation, the State is enabled to continue in the discharge of its obligation to preserve the order of the citizen.

While war always moves through the political, the real object which it seeks to attain is found in its unconsciously produced effects, which are economic. War's real purpose being economic, it cannot be stopped in any other way save than by dealing with the economic. All efforts to stop it through employing the political, as suppressing it by force through an entente of nations, proposed by the League to Enforce Peace, must fail. Nothing can stop war but the creation of an economic adjustment in society in the presence of which war cannot arise, for the reason that a cause for war, or casus belli, cannot exist. When this has been attained, war automatically expires, never to appear in the world again.

It has been essential for the advance of civilization that people be assembled in separate political entities called **nations**. Among these, the right of a nation to conduct war is not less essential to its existence than its right to maintain internal order. To pass this right to conduct war into the hands of another power would be not alone to destroy the nation, but also to efface the civilization of the people if the condition could, by exterior force, be maintained. Take the illustration of India: Here we have a nation which has passed its right to conduct war over to another power, which keeps the people at peace. Under this regime famines appeared, and they have increased the frequency of their visitations until they now come every five years.

But fancy what would have been the condition in India had England, when forbidding the Indian peoples to conduct war, done nothing to increase initiative amongst them as their population increased, as the League to Enforce Peace would now do with the nations of the world. Under such circumstances the Indian peoples must have long since been reduced by famine to the numbers and culture of the barbarous stage. What knowledge they had in industry they would have practically lost through physical and mental weakness to exercise it, caused by under-nourishment. While prohibiting war amongst them, England has increased their efficiencies by creating great irrigation works, by building railroads, by public education; and with all, having the Protective System, which England did not know how to get rid of, millions upon millions have perished by famine, and the nation is difficult for England to rule—a seething cauldron of discontent.

Had India been left free to conduct war, her territorial divisions would have warred on each other under their native chiefs, holding down population within the capability of the race mind to feed them, keeping the people well nourished with a tendency to amalgamate small groups into large, raising the race mind to ever higher conceptions of order and freedom, and the civilization would have gone slowly forward.

But it is otherwise now, and what the sociological situation of India is, the League to Enforce Peace, making many many times worse, would inflict upon the whole world!

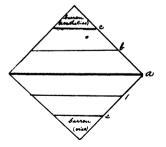
#### CHAPTER XV.

#### THE EARTH CAN NEVER BE OVERCROWDED.

Population's Increase is Naturally Held Back by Rise of the Mind —The High Birth Rates Amongst Illiterate but Well Nourished People—Why Nature Ordains This—How it Will Transpire that Population Will Not Increase Upon the Earth, and it May Even Decline.

While war has been the instrument which Nature has devised for holding back population until the mind unfolds to knowledge of using the earth to feed the race, yet Nature has ordained that population can never press upon the limits of the earth. The earth as a whole can never become overcrowded. For it to do so would mean famine for the race, and Nature, abhoring famine, will never submerge in it the entire race. All we have been discussing shows that natural laws are arranged to prevent that very thing. The human race has never been in famine and never can be.

The check upon population is administered by the mind, and lies in the fact that as the mind rises it controls the offspring. The large families are in the lower walks of culture, not in the higher. Starting at well-nourished ignorance, where the families are the largest, as we ascend the scale the numbers of the offspring decline. We may illustrate this by two pyramids, one erect, the other inverted, as follows:



**A**, we will say, is the line of families from fifteen to twentyfive, such as we find on the farms of Southern Russia. These people have plenty of food, but they are densely ignorant. Their pleasures in life are of the animal kind. Their offspring are many. If we drop below this to 1 we shall find families such as we see in Mexico, from five to fifteen. These people are as ignorant as the Russians, and they would have as many children but for the fact that their increase is held down by lack of nourishment. Feed them up and they will procreate rapidly. Below this, 2, we get into a zone of vice which is barren.

Along the upper scale we find in b families up to ten. These are people of some culture, who to some extent stay the reproductive process through contraceptics and other forms of birth control, a zone of knowledge which is wholly absent from the Russians and Mexicans, and which belongs only to the rise of mind. Further on at c we find families of from two to five, where added to birth control there is a considerable exercise of indisposition to the reproductive act through the lives of the persons being filled with intellectual divertisments. In this region also convention has a powerful effect. It is not "fashionable" to have more than three children, and the disposition is to hold down the number. Above this we get another barren zone, not of vice but of intellect; it is of people who will not be bothered with children at all, who are wholly engrossed in their art, their literature or science. This region tends to increase in the number of its occupants.

The movement in the scale is from the lower toward the higher. Vice, while it increases under the Protective System, will lessen with the Call System, and ultimately disappear. Under-nourishment will disappear. Then the ignorance which now besets the parents of the Russian people will pass away, and in its place will come the enlightenment which will react upon the disposition to engender progeny. People will refuse to have more children than they can fittingly and comfortably raise and educate; and as their ideas of living and education rise with increase of incomes, their views of the children they desire tend to lessen as to number.

There is no hardship in this. It is the entirely voluntary disposition of those who will engage or not upon a duty. Nature, placing the burden of many children upon the ignorant, is striving to hold on to the race against war, for it is the domain of ignorance that war attends. Where people welter in ignorance, the mind does not rise in initiative as population increases, and war must transpire to hold population back. By enlarging the procreative power of the ignorant, the rapid replenishment of the species following the war keeps the race coming forward. It is the law in all forms of life which are exposed to great onslaughts of destruction that their reproductive power is also great. We have seen that population tends, under the present system, to increase faster than the mind unfolds to use the earth to feed the race, but there comes a time when this seventh law loses its force. It will be overcome by the rise of mind and improvement in condition which tend to hold down population. Population may cease to increase, but initiative will go on. A marvelous change comes over the race. Initiative, which lagged behind population, now ranges ahead of population, and war ceases. This condition will only arise upon the introduction of such a system as I propose.

The day will come when the population of the earth will not increase; when the births will not be greater than the deaths. And this will not set in when the earth is stocked up to its limit. but at a time when there is ample space and more upon the earth for all. For today, as we have seen, though population under the Protective System presses in some countries so severely that millions must be killed to protect the people from famine, yet with the earth adequately used, as it would be under the Call System, there is land enough in continental United States to sustain in the utmost luxury the whole human race; for we of this nation have a continental area sufficient to give one acre to every human being in the world, with enough left over to furnish an acre apiece to the entire population of Europe. And with the knowledge which the race has now, there would in the presence of thick population, however broken or depressed the area, be no waste land.

#### CHAPTER XVI.

## THE CALL SYSTEM.

What it is and How it May be Instituted—Why the State's Income Must be Limited to the Social Value—The Volume of the Social Value—Enormous Revenue to the Federal Government to Conduct the War, and Which Does Not Lessen Business, But Increases it—Landowners will Cheerfully Obey the Law as Soon as They Understand It.

The Call System is simply the compelling by the State of orderly, or efficient, use of valuable land, attained through laying upon each piece thereof such an annual charge or Call as would compel the owner to place it at the use fitting to its value. The sum received by the State from the exercise of this duty would comprise its support. The amount so derived to the State would be ample for its costs and to create all the public improvements which the State should furnish. The word **Call** is used instead of **tax**, as the charge in no way answers to a tax, since the State thereby draws from its own property. It would be similar to a bank calling upon an outstanding loan.

The State could not take income from any other source, save a small annual amount from the issuance of money, properly a State function, as I have shown, and for the commercial use of the highways. To take income from any other direction would not only be for the State to take that to which it has no right, but it would be to lessen the quantity which the State could take from the social value, since the State would have no right to withdraw from circulation and pile up money which it could not use.

So acquiring its support, there must then be repealed the laws which sustain each of the basic monopolies—tariff, highway, patent, occupational, migration, and sumptuary supplies. Land monopoly falls when orderly use of the earth is enforced.

The volume of the social value of the United States at \$1500 per head of population is one hundred and fifty billions of dollars. The annual yield of this at five per cent is seven and a half billions of dollars. The cost of all governments within the nation in time of peace is less than two and a half billions. If we should allow another billion for public improvements, there would be of rent four billions left to the landowner. In time of war all of this should be taken. If taken by the Federal State today there would be an annual income to the government, to be used in carrying on the war, of five billions of dollars—twice as much as the government up to this date has annually drawn from the society of the nation as taxes for war purposes.

This sum the federal government should draw and capitalize in bonds. It would give the government one hundred billions of money wherewith to carry on the war. This is at the low yield of the social value of five per cent. It might as easily be made to yield at the rate of ten per cent—a freed industry could well afford to pay it. The bonds would soon be wiped out following the war, through the great rise of the social value which would ensue with peace under the Call System.

And this revenue would not in the taking limit business in the slightest. By releasing industry from the trammels of the basic monopolies, and compelling the sixty per cent of unused social value to be used, there would follow through the vast production and exchange which would at once arise, a stupendous increase in the volume of the social value, and this would practically all belong to the landowner. The sum total of the change would be that the landowner would have vastly more value in the land than he now owns, but he would be compelled to use it to its full efficiency, or permit some one else to do so through leasing it or selling it. He would no longer be permitted to hold valuable land out of use to await a price which he has fixed in his mind that a future state of society may give him for his permission that such piece of the earth surface be used by society. That fetish will be thrust out of his head, and in its place will come, by way of his pocket, good hard coin, which he will be compelled to take because of the value which the land possesses now.

In the light of what we show herein nothing can be more astonishing than that the value of land—social value—is the one property of the nation from which the Federal Government draws no revenue whatever, save indirectly through income taxes. The property which Congress should tax, which it has a right to tax, which it is its duty to tax, is the only property which it does not tax. "Land" is the one thing in the nation which Congress exempts. The most penetrating, ingenious and comprehensive surveys are made throughout the field of commodities, of articles, of services, of everything that industry owns or employs to find subjects for taxation. Anything will be taxed in order that the value of land be not taxed. In England, Germany and other nations, the highest legislative house is dedicated to defending land value from taxation. In this country we do not have a House of Lords or a Bundesrath composed of land owners. Our landlords have no need of such. It is sufficient that the people are densely ignorant upon the subject of the value of land. Congress believes that to tax the value of land is to lay a burden upon the farmers, and that this value in the nation should be subject only to taxation by local governments. Industry, however, which also contributes to local governments, is made to only the maintenance of the Federal government, but also the cost of the war.

To put the Call System into effect, the Congress of the United States would provide by law that the Secretary of the Interior should cause to be appraised at its full and true value each piece of land in the United States, such value being the sum which the land placed at its.fitting use would yield in net profit capitalized at five per cent. Except in cases of mineral deposits or timber, the values should be determined with regard to neighborhood settlement, rather than the properties of the soil.

The survey for ascertaining this should be conducted by boards acting under the internal revenue collectors, who as they appraise each piece should assign thereto a sum of annual Call necessary in the judgment of the board to require the land to be placed at its full use. That is to say, to make the burden of the sum too great to be paid with the land held at less than its full use. What this sum may be should be determined according to rules worked out, and having some regularity of application. My own notion is that if the burden were such as would make unprofitable the placing of the land at a next lower use, the owner would pass it to the higher use. If the Call were so great that a five-story building on a ten-story building lot would not "pay," the owner would not build a six-story—he would put up a ten-story building.

The principle of levying excess Calls upon land to compel its full use, operative only until the land was fittingly improved when they would be removed, might be employed. The expedient has been tried in the British colonies to discourage absentee landlordism, and has worked effectively. The objection to absentee landlordism, however, is not well taken. It is of no consequence where an owner lives so long as the land be efficiently used. Nevertheless it must not be supposed that where land is already applied to its full use the annual charge on the lot would not be higher than it is now. There would be none on the building nor its contents, but more on the lot. The owner would probably not pay to the government more than he pays now. But the purpose of the Call would be not only to compel the land to be used to its full efficiency through its improvement, but to keep it so used. It would become unprofitable for the owner of a building to let it fall into decay, whereby it would lose its tenants. He must keep the property in an up-to-date condition.

The landowner should understand, therefore, that it does not hurt him, but vastly benefits him, to untax the unit value—commodities, buildings or other improvements on land, chattels of all kinds, services, the performance of business, exchanges, and so on. It is through the movement of these things that social value is made, and the the freer men are in using them the more activity they will display, and the greater will be the quantity of social value made thereby. If the landowner knew this he would be the most vigilant guardian of the unit value, vigorously opposing all efforts to tax it or in any manner impede its free action, so it may go energetically on with its operation of making ever new additions to the volume of social value.

Unhappily, however, we find the landowner not disposed to look in this direction. His concept, now as of old, is that he is benefited by paying just as little taxes on his land as possible. His fight. therefore, has always been to shunt taxes off on industry-the unit value-in order that he may net a larger proportion of the rent he receives from his land, or may find it easier to hold out of use vacant land to await the price which he demands society shall pay to him for his releasing it to industry. We find, therefore, the landowner in his real estate boards, his anti-single tax leagues, his chambers of commerce, his taxpayers leagues, and under whatever other cover of name he seeks to perpetuate his privilege, antagonistic to any discussion of what social value is, and intolerant of any proposed change in the attitude of the State towards it. His behavior is peculiarly that of the privilegist; he wants no argument upon the political laws upon which his monopoly rests; he wants only the force of the State to preserve it. The landowner, I feel sure, will change his attitude in this respect after the Call System comes into effect. But he will resist the change until the people understand his true position to society as a land monopolist, for as such he is the chief privilegist, the prime enemy of civilization and of the human race.

A problem presents itself with respect of those lands which containing actually no social value are nevertheless priced by their owners at figures which would deny their use—as to whether such lands should be taken from their owners and held by the State for occupation, or left with their owners. If lands have no value it would seem to be no hardship to the owner for the State to take them and hold them open for practically free entry. Upon the other hand, if lands have no value they would not be usable, so they would have no occupants; for which reason I cannot see why the owner should be disturbed in his possession of lands upon which, just as soon as value accretes, the State would lay a Call and force them to their fitting use.

The effect of the Call System, therefore, would be to compel society to close up upon its lands. Lands would be fully used moving from centers of highest value and passing down to where the lands had no value. The outlying lands, beyond the region of the farms, would be stock ranges and hill lands for growing timber. There would always, therefore, be plenty of cheap land, plenty of good farming land, bidding for users at nominal prices—such lands not remote from society as now, but close to settlement.

As soon as the principle which I show is understood, as soon as it is recognized that the social value belongs to the State, and that to prevent war and bring prosperity, land must be used to the full efficiency of its value, and national law is enacted to that end, landowners will willingly obey it. They will place their lands to full use, and cheerfully co-operate with the local boards in effecting full uses of the lands. The immense benefits which they will receive through the Call increasing their social value will make them aggressive defenders of this system.

Such would also be the case with the highways. When it is recognized that the railroad beds, street railway tracks, etc., were tree to all persons to use in competition upon equal terms, the State charging a uniform Call upon such use, there would be ready acquiescence in the arrangement on the part of the users.

A very large income would result to the State from these sources, whose proper expenditure might tax the ingenuity of the legislatures; but public improvements, good roads, parks, buildings, etc., and public education, schools, museums, conservatories, etc., are susceptible of utilizing great sums, and they have the quality of creating new social value through their existence.

It is not contemplated that the Federal exercise of the Call upon the social value would in any way trench upon the proper governmental sphere of the states. An apportionment of the volume of income thus received could readily be arranged between the federal, state and municipal governments.

#### CHAPTER XVII.

## WHY WAR IS IMPOSSIBLE UNDER THE CALL SYSTEM.

The Impossibility of a Cause for War Arising—Why Armies Would Not Be Necessary and Would Have to Disband—States Being Held to Political Functions in Their Rule, the People in Their Economic Lives Being Free, War Could Only Be Waged to Extend Political Rule—No War Has Ever Been Moved for This Purpose—The Powerful Class in Society to Whose Interests It Would Be to Prevent Wars—How War Will Cease Forever.

The Call System does not disturb existing administrative office holders, whether such be hereditary or otherwise. Kings therefore may welcome it, as making secure the official tenure of their houses. It requires both branches of the legislature to be elective upon equal franchise for all those mentally capable of exercising such without regard to sex, and who are either born within, or have declared their allegiance to the nation where they seek to vote. Its government is representative, not direct, as by initiative, referendum and recall. The members of the legislature only are elected for short terms, since frequent reference to the country is necessary to enable the legislature to express the will of the people. The judiciary in all its judicial offices is not elective, but appointive during good behavior by the executive; the behavior incident is in the hands of a joint committee of both branches of the legislature, to whom the members of the benches are answerable for their conduct upon complaint.

The Call System abolishes the basic monopolies, and using the earth to the full measure of its value, gets rid of land monopoly. This compulsion to use six tenths of the value in the land of society, which is not now used at all, in the presence of freedom from all the other basic monopolies which hedge man within narrow limits in co-operating with society, leads to full and efficient employment of all the people within the nation and makes an ever increasing demand for more people, so that the youth who yearly mature to enter industry, find always places bidding for them, in whatever occupation they may elect. And there are constant solicitations for the services of those who may come from abroad and wish to add their efforts to those of the resident peoples in the great work of producing, distributing and serving for the welfare of society

The effect of the Call System introduced in one country would be to compel its introduction everywhere, for so great would be the prosperity immediately devolving upon the country possessing it, that unless it were so introduced in other countries it would draw their populations, and if the country be sufficient in area to furnish food supply, as is the case with the United States, it would continue so to draw until they were depleted of population. Immigrants would be welcomed because the demand for labor could never be appeased, the more that come into the country the more active would be industry, and the greater the bid for labor. The tendency of wages with immigration would be to rise, not to lower, as now.

Internal harmony would exist. There could never be an "economic revolution"—one of the most fruitful causes for war in history, for there being always a greater demand for labor than there is supply, with wages high and prices low, no such disturbance could arise.

Trade would be as free without the nation as within. One producing an article could therefore sell it on equal terms with all people within and without the countries all over the world. If a thing could be produced in one country cheaper than in another, the people in the country of sale would get the benefit of that condition. Navies, therefore, would no longer be necessary to nations to maintain open markets, that is to enable them to sell their goods, and would be abolished.

Nor would nations any longer need armies. There being no obstruction to their growth as manufacturing countries as their populations increased, they would never have to possess more land to feed their increasing numbers, so they would have no need for armies. In addition to having no further need for armies and navies, however, **they would be compelled to abandon them.** For since to harbor armament is to increase the cost of the exported product, a nation so magnifying her commodity costs would be bested in the free competing markets of the world, and would, by her own conduct, be unable to make the necessary exchanges to feed her population.

We have noted that as a nation increases its population it must, in order to feed its numbers evolve its industry from lower to higher forms. Not only must agriculture become more productive per acre, and its products more varied, but the industry must itself give way to higher industry, that is, to manufacturing. For as we have observed, where but two people may be fed per year on an agriculture acre, as many thousands may be fed upon a manufacturing acre. But in order to feed these added number exchanges of the fabricated product for food is necessary. And sufficient of these exchanges cannot take place within the nation, but must transpire with the peoples without the nation. Whereby we see, that as population increases the necessary rise of the mind, or initiative, draws an ever wider zone of people into co-operation, and makes this relation ever closer, more intimate and interdependent.

We have remarked too, that it is the quality of tariffs both within and without the nation to interfere with these exchanges being made. Home tariffs or taxes on unit value increase the cost of the product, making it more difficult to be sold abroad. And when it reaches the border of a foreign nation and there has to pay tariffs, it is almost shut away from sales within that country; for indeed, these tariffs are laid with the very purpose, in so far as the privileged group who devised the tariff laws were able to secure it, of absolutely preventing sales of a foreign product from being made within the nation. The effect of tariffs therefor, is to practically shut away and make impossible these exchanges so vital to nations in preserving their peoples from famine. Now the Call System in striking away all these tariffs per-

Now the Call System in striking away all these tariffs permits the nations to freely evolve their industry, as nature demands, from the lower to the higher, and the higher it moves the more prosperous are the people.

Under the Call System the authority of a State is wholly political. There would be avoided all that confusion which now exists in the assumption that the political and economic within a nation are one and the same. The political power of a State is defined by its boundaries, but the economic operations of its people know no boundaries; they extend with equal right and freedom over the whole earth. Under free action they can hurt no one, they can do only good. Hence for a country to wage war would be solely for political rule, solely to gratify the ambition of a ruler to extend his sway. Filled as are the pages of history with the deeds of pridemad, absolute Kings, there is no narrative of a war being moved by such influence. Always strong economic reasons have lain at the bottom of wars. No people, prosperous, economically satisfied, would ever take up arms against a neighboring people, to burden themselves with the task of their political administration, merely to gratify the insane lust of a ruler to enlarge his dominions.

But if for any caprice the rulers of a nation under the Call System wished to posses armament, they would be prevented therefrom by a powerful class out of whose pockets solely the cost of armament would come. This class would be the landowners. These persons are now the advocates of war in all European countries. They are the agricultural lords who want war prices for the products of their farms, so they can raise their rents. Comprising chiefly the aristocrats of the country, they hope also to carve out new manors from conquered districts. Their efforts have always been to shift taxes from lands to industry-the unit value. When they discover that they are the stewards of the social value, which must pay all the costs of the State, but that the State can take no more of it than effects orderly use of the earth and sustains its establishment, they will be concerned to see that the State is limited in its taking to this amount. Comprising a large representation in the legislature, they would not permit the State to indulge in armament for which there is no need, which must be paid for out of their pockets, and they would also realize that their estates are increased through the accumulation of social value, which is a product of that peace which enables the units of society to co-operate most fully.

In other words, under the Call System, war will cease because not alone can there be no cause for war, and no benefit derived from war, but because the most powerful elements in society become opposed to war.

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

# HOW THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM PRODUCED THE PRESENT WAR.

The Movement from Old Centers Towards Regions of Free Land Produced a Correlative Tendency Towards Individual Freedom.—The Movement Ended About the Year 1880.—The Protective Spirit Then Began to Increase the Obstructions to Cooperation All Over the World.—This Influence Exerted Its Effects Greater in Germany Than Elsewhere, Owing to Her High Birth Rate.—Germany's Internal Predicament.—Her Struggle Was Against Famine.—The False Sociological Doctrines and Beliefs Which the Condition Generated.—Germany a Hot-bed of Privilege.—Her Mind Shut to Reason, She Relied Solely On Force, Which Could Only Be Met by Force.

So long as there was land for free settlement in the world, the movement of the nations was away from privilege and toward freedom. When such land began to give out, the course of the nations turned again towards privilege away from freedom.

The westward movement of this free land settlement was a part of the great migratory movement of man from his birth spot in Indo Malaysia at a date which I believe was about twelve thousand years ago, and which was directed to getting man spread over the earth, first as savage, then as civilized man, which movement and the period of time it consumed, I call the Great Cycle, for, as I remark, whatever the period it compassed, it was but a cycle in the vast tract of time that man is destined to inhabit the earth.

In due course this western hemisphere was revealed to civilized man, long after it had been found and had become inhabited by savage man. It was to civilized man a great new world of free land, land rich, arable and wondrous, which could be had for the taking; and as such it drew migration from those civilized centers of population nearest to it, and to whom, through civilized discovery, it had been disclosed. This settlement beginning in 1492, continued for nearly four hundred years. Its career was marked by freedom of man from slavery, and freedom of trade from tariffs. That is to say, of freedom of communication by person and by goods.

A part of this phenomenon was the enlargement of political

liberty of the citizen. Every revolution, every war in Europe during these four hundred years, brought the State closer to the citizen, farther within his grasp, so he might be able to use it ultimately to effect his economic freedom, overcoming thereby the privilegists whose interests always seemed to be to keep him in slavery.

First, white men were freed from slavery, and then colored men. Districts theretofore settled in small sections by peoples of kindred stocks who were separated from each other by hostile tariffs, drew into confederations which consolidated into nations with free trade within their boundaries. What is now Germany, for instance, had, prior to the Zollverein, fifty three different customs frontiers, a condition which characterized Italy until the fusing of the several provinces into the kingdom under Victor Emanuel. In all of the countries the tendency was toward sweeping away all of those tolls and duties which impeded trade, toward free trade within and low tariffs without. England and Holland became almost fully free trade countries. The United States of America had been formed, intolerant, as John Fiske tells us, of the protective tariffs of England, having low tariffs without, and declaring free trade amongst the states within her own dominions.

When however, free land in the West began to give out, protective tariffs began to return and take their places at the borders of the nations. France, Italy, Russia, Austria, Germany, the United States, all raised tariffs against each other. By 1880 the great freeward movement of the world had ceased, and the reaction toward privilege had definitely set in. It may be said that it was about in this year that free arable land for settlement in the United States had become about exhausted; and the phenomena of privilege began distinctly to appear. It was about this time that trade unionism took its rise over the world, an institution which had not existed since the guilds of the middle ages, which disappeared from Europe following the voyage of Columbus. In 1882 the ancient prohibitions upon the free movement of men were restored and set up against the Chinese entering the United States through laws excluding their immigration, and we have since had in this country even recrudescence of those laws of medieval Europe which withheld from peoples who were denied political liberty the right of owning land, the sufferers from such European laws being Jews and aliens. We have now in California and other states placed this legislation against Orientals.

The despotic State, which had by inches been giving away to the enlarged rights of the citizen, came again strongly forward as those rights, one after another, were withdrawn from the citizen and re-absorbed by the State. The State, hitherto held more and more closely towards its political domain of maintaining order, again entered the economic life of the citizen. It re-entered industry; it regimented industry, preferring one group of citizens against another, drawing itself ever nearer to its ancient station where it stood as the economic provider of a people whose minds were not developed to know the ways to provide for themselves.

While these reactionary laws were coming into existence over the world, Germany was increasing her population, so that in 1914 she had at least seventy millions of people if not more upon 208,000 square miles of land, and with a birth rate exceeding 31, she was increasing that population at a rate of twenty-five millions per decade

Germany had therefore, reached the position where she could no longer feed her people from her agricultural lands, and must needs have further manufactures and foreign trade.\* This would have been her situation had it been possible to use all her lands to their highest efficiency, but having land monopoly, this was impossible. Her social value could not have been used by her in any greater proportion than was the case anywhere else—40%—albeit all but ten per cent of her landed surface was in some proportion of use.

Germany had begun as far back as 1870 to change from agriculture to manufacturing. But after she had her fabrications well under way and looked around the world to find peoples with whom to exchange them, she perceived the borders of states everywhere save England and Holland blocked with protective tariffs, and in this perversion the assumedly most enlightened nation of all, the United States, was taking the lead.

The great trade rival of Germany was England. England was such because she had vast manufactures and shipping, and trade policy—free trade—which enabled her to sell cheaply. She was therefore Germany's trade rival at almost every turn.

Germany might have endured this if it had not been that Eng-

\*"I have nearly 70,000,000 people, and we shall have to find room for them somewhere. When we became an empire, England had her hands on nearly everything. Now we must fight to get ours. That is why I am developing our world markets, just as your country secured Hawaii and the Philippines as stepping stones to the markets of the far east, as I understand it. That is why I developed the wonderful city of Kaio-Chau. \* \* \* After the war my people will settle in the Balkans and develop and control that wonderful country. I have been down there and I know it is a marvelous land for our purposes."—Conversations of William II of Germany with Dr. A. N. Davis, his dentist. land, through her colonies, owned such a great part of the world-Canada, Australia, India, Central Africa, and as the phenomenon of more goods than exchanges increased, and it became ever more difficult to make exchanges, there arose amongst England's colonies a disposition to enact differential tariffs in favor of English goods and against the goods of other nations. The colonies, in other words, became spheres of influence for England's trade.

The German economists were not able to penetrate the situaation and see that Germany could have cheapened her exports by wiping out her tariffs, for she was held back by agriculturists who wanted high prices for food, and by manufacturers who wanted a home market, so laboring under the handicap of tariffs in her competition with England for foreign exchanges, she was goaded by English colonial tariffs and tariffs elsewhere, to build a navy in order to meet England's floating force, so she might protect her treaties and have a better chance to sell her goods.\*

\* In Europe, it is assumed, the agriculturist benefits by protective tariffs, while in America he does not. This is owing to the differences in the density of population of the respective continents. In the United States, for instance, there is a far greater food production than consumption, so that our farmer finds his chief market abroad, and he receives for his product a free trade price. Protective tariffs are to him of no benefit, for so great is the agricultural area that it is impossible for him to combine his producers and fix prices, as the manufacturers do. The result is that he is held down to the foreign free trade price by internal competition amongst his units. The limit of internal low price to which competition draws is the price he can get by shipping abroad, which is a free trade price. This makes our farmers free traders.

As, however, the products of the farm, save what the farmer eats, are all directed to exchange, the farmer must buy at a price fixed at home. He sells in a free trade market and he buys in a protected market, for all the things for which he exchanges are manufactures, and manufactured prices are determined by protective tariffs, the trust being used to consolidate the manufacturers so they may take full advantage of the tariff.

Under this process the movement in the agricultural area is toward that condition where the agriculturist can get a protected price in the home market, and sell only his surplus in the free trade market, just as does the manufacturer. This transpires to the farmer not through tariffs, but through their twin monopoly, land monopoly. The direction is to convert the farmer from an individual land owner into a tenant, to make the agricultural land owner a separate class from the agricultural producer, tending towards very large areas vested in single hands. It can be seen that if it were possible to get all the farming land in the United States owned and operated by a single person, there could then be no internal competition in farm products, and the single farmer would fix his internal prices as high as the foreign seller would allow him. Then it would be that this single farmer would go to Congress and demand a tariff on foreign imports of farm products so he might be able to exact higher prices of the internal consumers.

This single farmer, however, would not be a farm operator, but a farm

Her navy added to the cost of her goods, and further handicapped her in her commercial contest with England.

In her endeavor to cheapen her goods so that they could gain entry in foreign markets Germany was put to all sorts of expedients.

owner; that is, a land owner; and the reason why he would want tariffs would be to enable him to exact of his tenants, the farm producers, higher rents. Competition would then still exist in the farming world, but it would not be a land owner competition, but a producer's competition amongst tenants, which going on under the shadow of the tariff wall, would still find in that wall no benefit to the farmer, for his price, albeit far higher than the outside free trade prices, would be held to the minimum by competition. The struggle amongst the farmers would be such that only the strongest would survive. That is, the weaker would be pressed out of the industry, and be reduced to bare subsistence as a reward for the hardest drudgery. Those who would prosper, under these conditions, would be those who could farm most efficiently, that is, employ machinery, systems and methods that would enable them to produce at minimum costs and market at the best prices. Even these would be pressed in their returns by the landlord, and rising rent would squeeze some of them out, but a group within them, more or less large, would tend to become owners of their farms.

Nearly all the agricultural producers would be tenants; or if they were landowners at all, they would be subjected to the severest hand drudgery on trifling areas, so distributed only through some form of State aid, and their ownership would be but temporary, the process being to drive them off their areas, throw them back into tenanry, and consolidate their holdings into large ownerships.

What we have here sketched was precisely the condition of agriculture in Germany at the outbreak of the war. State aid had gotten some of the farmers upon tiny plots of land from one and a quarter to five acres, but the vast agriculture area of Germany was in few hands, comprising baronial estates, whose owners demanded and received protective tariffs upon importations of agricultural products.

These tariffs made food prices high, and high food prices necessitated high coin wages, and high coin wages meant high prices for products, and high prices for products meant difficulty in finding foreign exchanges, and this insufficiency of foreign exchanges for food meant, with increasing population, enfamining the people. So war became a necessity to preserve the population from famine.

The German agricultural tariffs were possible because of the limited area of German agricultural lands, whose products were not sufficient to satisfy home consumption. High home prices for these could be gotten if a tariff wall were erected, and the tariff wall was demanded by the great landlords, in order that they might get higher rents. This added to manufacturing prices, whereby Germany was bested in foreign markets, always markets of competition. Hence she could not make sufficient foreign exchanges to help out her home food supply and provision her people, and this condition was tremendously accentuated by foreign tariffs.

The condition was powerless to benefit the agricultural producer, because he was subjected to home competition which held down his prices; while manufacturers' tariffs made a protected market for him to exchange in. Her State acquired the railways, and eliminated profits on foreign shipments making widely differential rates on exports. She gave bounties on exports; she sold goods to foreign countries cheaper than they were sold to her own people.

We in the United States met this as some other countries met it, by passing anti-dumping laws, making it a crime for any one to sell in this country goods cheaper than they were sold in the country of shipment. The Protective Spirit made it impossible for the people of one country to give away goods to the people of another country who needed them.

In the face of such a condition Germany was thrown back upon her resources of lowering her costs of production. She caused the State to install many industries to give work to the people who were rapidly falling into unemployment through the growing inability of private industry to cope with these conditions. She soon found herself a vast operator of utilitarian industry, for the citizen cannot compete in industry with the State, since while the State cannot handle industry as efficiently as the citizen, yet having for its support the taxing power, it eliminates profit from its product, and this the citizen cannot do. In order that the waste in competition, which characterizes the Protective System, might be effected to the end of a cheaper production, she favored the installation of huge monopolies, Kartels; then the State secretly bought stock in these until it controlled them, so she could hold the price to such low levels as would allow their products to be exported. She backed with the funds of the State all sorts of enterprise; about anything which would come forward as a feasible project for employing the people could get State money.

At the outbreak of the war Germany had her agricultural holdings divided as follows: 36.3 per cent or 2,084,060 holdings, were  $1\frac{3}{4}$  acres in area. 32.6 per cent were  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to 5 acres. 17.5 per cent were 5 to 12 acres; 8.6 per cent were  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 50 acres, 4.6 per cent

The result of it all was that while food was high to the consumer, the farmer, through severest competition netted little from his sale, and when sold he purchased from the tariff protected trust, **Kartel**, and paid a monopoly —non-competitve—price.

As the agricultural areas therefor, held only the meanest living for the hardest work, they presented no relief from low wages in manufacturing brought on by pressure of increasing population bidding for jobs, and by markets for manufacturers being held down by the foreign and domestic trammels to exchanges which we have noted. The labor union at the factory became necessary to enable the strongest in the group to survive, and ultimately war was necessary to reduce population. See **The Plight of the Farmer**. Chapt. XXI, Vol. II, **The World Question and Its Answer**.

were 50 to 250 acres. The remaining 4-10th per cent were over 250 acres, yet owned by 23,566 magnates and feudal barons, they comprised twenty-five millions of acres, or close to one-fifth the area of entire Germany. They were, of course, farmed by tenants.

The farming on the smaller holdings was done altogether by hand labor, and largely by women. Women and children hitched in harness with dogs and oxen, drew plows and carts.

One-half of the women of Germany were wage earners. Their number was 9,500,000. They performed one-third the economic work of the Empire. They worked in all the trades ten hours daily except Saturday, when they worked eight hours. Before the war 7,265 women and 31,290 children worked in coal and salt mines.

The reason why they so worked was because the wages of male workers would not support their families. The men worked from 57 to 60 hours a week, and such were the prices of the most elementary necessities of life that while the average annual living expense of the workman's family was \$531.70 per year, the average wage of the male skilled worker was \$373, of the unskilled \$310.

The city worker lived in barracks, three to six stories high, built in rows forty feet apart without baths or heat, many without kitchens, foul for lack of air and gloomy through lack of light. According to Mr. Gerard, fifty-five per cent of the families in Berlin lived in one room; most of the rest lived in two and three rooms. The average rent for apartments in these tenements was \$225 per year.\*

Against these forces pressing her into famine, Germany struggled strenuously but in vain. She tried to increase the power, the efficiency of her people in industry by regimenting them, by reaching with the fingers of the State into every avenue of their private lives. Every boy was sent to school and placed at a trade. During the three maturing years of his life he was taken full possession of by the State which fed him and administered his life that he be physically fit, not less as a soldier than in civilian industry. Tt established a great swarm of protective measures to defend the workman from famine which became models for similar establishments later installed in all Protective countries, that is-everywhere. Among these were minimum wage, unemployed insurance, health insurance, workman's compensation, old age pensions, maternity awards, State woodyards, municipal lodgings, the Herbergen-stations throughout the Empire where a workman wandering in seach of work, on showing a card might get a meal and lodging-a return to the Church hospice of the Middle Ages.

\* Literary Digest, May, 1918.

By these operations Germany had for a while been able to hold down the numbers of her unemployed, but she had not been able at any time to eradicate them.

Únemployment fell in 1906, during the reconstruction period of the Russo-Japanese war, to 1.1 per cent of her population, while in France it was 9.9, and about the same in Great Britain; in the United States it was 8.5 and in Belgium (without the cost of armies and navies), it was 2.1. Nevertheless, following this the figures in Germany began to rise. In 1908 unemployment was 2.9, and thence to the outbreak of the war its course was upwards. The nation with all its artifices and all its devices, had exhausted its ability to stave off famine. Thenceforward she was in the clutch of a spectre that was gradually closing tightly its grasp upon her.

While this quintessence of the Protective Spirit was distilling out there was a jarring company within the nation. Her Reichstag comprised of thirteen parties divided on as many interests mutually antagonistic, but indicated the economic condition of the country. The vote of discontent— the red socialists—or Social Democrats arose in 1912 to 4,250,329 out of 12,206,000 votes, and had 110 of the 397 seats in the Reichstag. It was aimed at the overthrow of the monarchy, and the hour of its success in that behalf was marked on the curve of the increase of the party.

Along with this a strange doctrine was being preached by her economists in her colleges. This stupenduous State power, absorbing alike the economic as the political life of the citizen, destroying all freedom, submerging the people in slavery, reflected in a great standing army and navy, glittering in brass and steel and sounding with the sabre's clank, had filled the heads of her academic visionaries with the idea that the German was a superior man to those of the rest of the world; that war was the natural portion of man, without which a nation would sink into decay—a truth indeed under the Protective System. War, therefore, was necessary for Germany, and she must be prepared for her destiny, which was to overcome the world, and impose upon it her system, monarchial socialism, the Kultur of the Protective Spirit.

Well indeed might Germany say that the economic system she had developed, her "co-operation" as against "individualism," was "what all nations must come to;" that it had fallen to Germany to "work it out," and she thereby felt it her duty and charge to impose it on all the other peoples in her "Deutchland uber alles!" The matter with Germany was simply this: that by reason of her limited territorial area and her fast growing population, the Protective System, everywhere existing over the world, had more rapidly than anywhere else come to a head there. The effect of this was to show into what the Protective System would fruit.

Torn with discord within, threatened by inevitable famine, and economic revolution fomenting amongst her people which if left to mature must exert itself as such revolutions have always done, against the political establishment and overthrow the monarchy, forbidden by a world hedged with tariffs from the exchanges necessary to feed her population and enable her to pursue her higher development, while inwardly squeezed as in a vise by land monopoly, Germany must needs turn to agriculture and have more land, or she must so subject the world that she might have more trade. In either event there was one thing for her to do—wage war. To wage war Germany must be **strong**. Victory in war goes to the strongest, and the strongest, the most mighty, she assumed, is the most terrible. Germany would be terrible to the world.\*

Without any doubt Germany did not build her war policy on this uber alles idea. Her armament grew upon her as a means of effecting world exchanges of her goods for food. The swaggerbund developed in those lightheads in her population who felt the sense of power which the State seemed to display, militarily, and over the lives of her citizens. There were those among her statesmen who even denied, and seriously so, I think, that Germany's militarism was ever built to overawe any nation. Thus we have Chancellor von Bethman-Hollweg in an address to the Reichstag:

"Not in the shadow of Prussian militarism did the world live before the war, but in the shadow of a policy of isolation, which was to keep Germany down. Against this policy, whether it appears diplomatically as an encirclement, militarily as a war of destruction, or economically as a world boycott, we, from the beginning were on the defensive. The German people wage this war as a defensive war for the safety of their national existence, for their free development. We never pretended anything else. Not otherwise can be explained this display of gigantic force, this inexhaustible heroism unexampled in all human history."

In other words, Germany was compelled to cut her way out. Any nation, under the circumstances would have done the same, or would have perished of famine. Nature has so ordained it that the race must press forward in progress, and must slough off numbers to lighten its load where numbers become a burden to it and impede its way to progress. This is the Law, and no human power can stay it. The Protective System pressing forward at one point more rapidly than at others, was made to double on itself, and the

<sup>\*</sup>A wholly erroneous doctrine, as it has shown itself to be a loadstone drawing against it ever increasing numbers of people to overcome those who wage it.

head to bite the tail. We of the Allies who drag along after Germany under the Protective Spirit, are affrighted when we see in the mirror the image of that which is farther on. And well we may be; for the Protective System in its full flower, its completed product at the end of its evolution, is abject slavery of all of the people, save two or three per cent, who, invested with the power of the State, lord it over the others economically, socially and politically. It is a system of stupenduous monopolies whereby nearly all are repressed and suppressed that a few may swagger and whirl in gilt and varnish: in which a trifling handful, swathed in silk and velvet, housed in great halls, dine sumptuously, while all others are straightened, deprived, for the most part under nourished. A system which whether prevading a world of many nations, or of one nation makes and would make vast armies needful, and war practically continuous; a system in which the force of the State is used to prevent the people from getting livings, under the belief that only by so doing may famine be averted; for the miserable German mind clings to the Kaiserkopft as the sole way and hope through which such industry may exist as will feed the people

Suppose that at, say a half decade prior to the war, some discerning German mind had perceived the true sociological condition of Germany-some Kant or Klopstock or Schlegel for instance, or some Goethe or Schiller-and, standing on such rise of the flat ground as would enable him to be seen and heard. set forth to Germany and the world what her real predicament was, and there loudly declared that if war would not burst forth the tariff walls that hedge the nations must be razed, men must be free of the hindrance and trammels of monopoly and the earth within society must be used with order-suppose such voice had rung out in Germany, would the world have listened? Would Germany herself have , heard? Would inquiry have been at once instituted into such revelations and finding them true, earnest minds everywhere set about correcting the condition, those without Germany assisting her with suggestions while those within worked diligently, sincerely, to shape the house of Germany so that it would be firm and secure, a strong, safe shelter for all of her people-would such have been the result of such warning?

Not for an instant!

Our Kant would have been hurled from his University seat and driven to dry pastures; our Goethe would have been gagged and chained. Ruled by the heads of monopolies, any one who would have dared to assail the political laws on which those monopolies rested would have been unsafe. Privilege swaying the septre of the State would have had none of that. The scoffer's laugh would have derided the thinker, and mockery would have met his efforts. For privilege knows only force. The swelled chest, the swaggering gait, the overbearing demeanor, the gruff command, is its attitude and its behavior. The raised hand to still the babbling throng that the voice of reason may be heard, is struck off by the sword whose swish from its scabbard alone breaks the silence. For privilege knows no reason; it is open to no argument.

To point to the German Junker group who ruled the State, the profiteers of privilege, the tariff protected manufacturers merged in their tightly held trusts-to point out to these that their hated rival, England, had been made great in shipping and manufactures by free trade and demand it for Germany; to show the land baron that with his social value paying all the taxes, with industry and its products free of levies, he would have more social value and not less; to have told the labor leaders of Germany that with workmen freely admitted to Germany to work and reside therein there would be more work, not less for the German workmen; to have told the patent monopolists that the inventor should receive royalty and not be allowed through his patent to deliver the market for a product to his privileged manufacturer; to have told the railroad magnate that his right of way was a monopoly, that the State should own the roadbed and hold it open on equal terms to all who could properly use such highway; to have told all and sundry of the German people that State-conducted industry effected to make rates and prices lower, by depriving them of opportunity to engage in private industry, was holding down the rise of initiative in German society-to have run the whole gamut of the seven monopolies and told those who benefited by them, and those who not directly so benefiting favored their existence, to rise at once and abolish them if they would save Germany from war-how would such persons have received such information?

Why, they would have received it by insulting the man who gave it to them. They wanted no such information. They wanted armies, navies, **big** Berthas, terrible deracinating explosives; they wanted machines to shoot, and millions of men to do the shooting. They wanted, in other words, to hold on to their monopolies and to widen the area of people who were subject to them. They wanted to shoot their way over Europe and the world, and riding high in their car of privilege, to bend, even though they crush and destroy beneath their wheels, the neighboring and further peoples. The whole structure of Germany stood upon privilege and privilege stands on force, and only force could meet it. So shaped, so existing, it was the portion of Germany that she should suffer at the forge of force. Her multitudes have been hurled by stricken millions to extinction, her population has been sheared down. Want, always present with its terrible oppression, has added the keenest pangs to its dull, continuous pain. And the end is not yet. For her doom is to know that the god of Force is a treacherous and hollow idol, and that those who worship him but call from his hands their own destruction.

This system of the Protective Spirit whose cup Germany now draws to its dregs, we ourselves possess, and possessing, nevertheless do battle against the physical establishment of its full unfoldment. We fight on, knowing not why, fighting only against the horror of that hideous thing which now full born, is trying to spread its pinions over the world. And, grasping tightly these flags which to us in some deep, uncertain way have in the past meant hope of a full bright day beyond, we cry "Democracy!" "Liberty!" words whose meaning we do not know; which indeed to us have no meaning, which express only **desire**, for the heart, even that poor, abased and despised German heart, ever yearns for freedom.

#### CHAPTER XIX.

#### ENDING OF THE GREAT CYCLE.

The Race Movement for Twelve Thousand Years of Human Existence Has Been to Get the Earth Settled in All Its Parts by Civilized Man.—The Purpose of the Scheme Was Progress, and to Fit Man for More Rapid Progress.—The Spread of Civilization Due to the Protective Spirit.—Land Monopoly and Intolerable Living Conditions Forced Constant Emigration Towards Cheap Land Accessible Under Political Freedom, Lands Remote from Society.—The Voyage of Columbus and Its Meaning.—The Influence of Gold in Getting Man Spread Over the Earth.—The Great War the Culmination of the Movement, and the Line of Demarcation of the Old World of the Past from the New World of the Future.

Science does not know how long man has occupied the earth. Behind the historic term of six thousand years there stretches a prehistoric tract of indefinite duration. Geology once claimed hundreds of thousands, even millions of years for this period. But as the evidences upon which was assumed this great region of time for early man were chipped flints, supposed to be the work of human hands, the like of which, however, have lately been proven of natural origin, the question of the scope of time of man's antiquity is again an open one. Since all the remaining evidences that Geology or Archeology have to show of early man are reconcilable with man's recent advent upon the earth, and since the laws of sociology, which we now know, would seem to indicate a limited scope of time for the savage and barbarous terms of the most progressive groups of his race, the writer believes that the period of prehistoric man was not greater than six thousand years, and has herein used twelve thousand years as the aeon of the Great Cycle. The facts and arguments upon which this conclusion rests are set forth in the first volume of the large book and cannot be gone into here. The conclusion is necessarily an hypothesis, but it is one of those hypotheses which science admits in place of facts which have not been established.

So then, let us say that for twelve thousand years man has been coming forward to the goal he has now reached, where he is about to enter his real state of harmony and perpetual peace. For twelve thousand years the human has been in travail, suffering throughout this long drawn gestation, with the awful pains at the end in this great war. They are pains, however, not of death, but of new life in a new world. And why man should have endured thus, and how it transpires that the ordeal is now ended, should be very plain to us.

As the Creator's purpose in placing the human upon the earth was to effect his progress, so it was necessary that he be distributed over the earth. Man could never have progressed, never have risen to the knowledge he now possesses, never have developed that moral nature which has come from standards grown amongst settlements of people under varying conditions in many parts of the earth, or that intellectual power which long use of the mind in meditation, foresight, memory and judgment, exercised upon infinitely varied information arising through such earth-wide distribution and diffusion, has produced in the human of today. So then the task of Nature in her project of developing the spirit of man was to get him away from that spot in Malaysia where he came into being, and spread him far and wide into the uttermost reaches of the whole earth.

We have seen that man went over the earth twice, first as savage, then as civilized man. That first the settlement was but a step; Nature's real purpose in the business was to get him spread as civilized man, to get the earth settled by the human with culture, under such conditions that ultimately, with infinite action and reaction, every part upon another and each upon the whole, all that comprises spiritual rise might come forth freely and in vast volume, like the tones of a mighty organ, ascending in grand diapason to the throne of God

We have seen also that man went over the earth as a savage under pressure of the sixth and seventh laws. His local wild food supply quickly giving out as his population increased, and his mind not quickly enough responding to devise ways to artificially increase the food supply, he kept emigrating from one place to another. Not all savage settlements moved in a body, some units remained on the spot, but others left and moved on, seeking new places to hunt, to find food.

We have seen that civilization arose on the moist deltas of two great desert rivers, lying close to the tropic belt. That from here it spread north and west, overcoming the wild tribes as it proceeded, though forced forward by them. But how did it come that civilization was pressed over the earth, as we now find it? It was spread thus through land monopoly, and its various satelities of privilege. Land from the beginning has been owned. Its ownership was first tribal-communal, then individual. The earliest business transaction amongst the earliest of peoples, the Semites, of which we have record was a sale of land.\* But individual ownership was in the strong-those able to secure grants of areas from the State, or who were rich enough to buy it. Those who worked the lands were slaves or tenants, not owners who were freemen. Where one was too poor to own a slave to work his land, and the area was not large enough to rent after the fashion of a manor, the land usually soon passed from him. The distributor of the land in severalty amongst the people was war. War making ever towards equal right, parceled lands of conquered peoples amongst the units of the victors, promises of which as rewards incited the soldiers to vehement efforts in battle, and won many a fight. The lands thus gained by them passed out of their hands through foreclosures of mortgages precisely as now, and drew into great estates, in the same manner and under the same influence that today converts the free farmer into a tenant farmer, and in the United States is rapidly drawing land ownership into few hands.<sup>†</sup>

While revolutions with their attendant land distributions, and reduction of population, repeatedly occurred throughout history,

<sup>†</sup> See Chapt. The Plight of the Farmer, Vol. II The World Question and Its Answer. In the same way men passed from liberty into slavery. In Greece, for instance, a man had in his body a value—which was merchantable, and which was not exempt from execution upon the judgment of a creditor. The debts which thus carried men into slavery were nearly always rent. The land was almost altogether owned by the few—the Eupatrids. It was rented at prices higher than the worker could pay—the pressure of rent against wages. Under this influence the people of Athens were rapidly passing into slavery at the hands of perhaps two per cent of the population, quite as we see society now, where the wealth is in the hands of about that proportion of our population. The inevitable result in Athens would follow—when the slaves became sufficiently numerous, and the condition had tightened upon them with a crystallizing effect, they would rise and restore their freedom by killing off the few—war working towards freedom and equal rights. Solon manumitted the slaves and made the body exempt from execution, thus destroying the practice as to political slavery.

<sup>\*</sup> And Abraham \* \* \* communed with them saying: "That he may give me the cave of Machpelali which is in the end of his field, for as much money as it is worth. \* \* \* If thou wilt give it I will give thee money for the field." And Ephron answered: "The land is worth four hundred shekels of silver." And Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, four hundred shekels of silver current with the merchant, and the field and the cave which was thereon, and all the trees that were in the filed, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession.— Genesis 23:8-18.

civilization pressing always from its Mediterranean center,<sup>‡</sup> yet the day came when such civilization as existed had spread all over the single continent of Europe and Asia There remained yet to be settled by civilized men a vast region of the earth, which civilized man did not know existed.

A theorist, spurned and condemned, insisted, despite the indifference of his community, the scoffing of the academies and the threats of the Church, that the earth was a globe, And being a globe that country then highest in civilization, and having its empire on the seaward border of Europe, might find a route to India over a path which was free, albeit which was physically far longer than was the distance thence behind over land, where the course of commerce was clogged by nations hedged against the world with high walls of protective tariffs. He convinced a woman that his theory might be right, and with her help Columbus sailed from Cadiz.

The kind of trade that Columbus sought was essentially of the Protective tariff character. It was goods for gold. He was not seeking to find manufactured articles in the possession of the people of Cipango—that mythical region of the east which would be reached through sailing west—and to import such into Spain. What

This communication at first was through piracy, since force was the only way whereby man could act on man. The establishment of the pirate was well ordered, the dealings between the units within it being based on justice and equity if not equality. But outside, his method was to plunder the weak and sell to the strong. This was the start of commerce; hence among the early politico economic writers trade was viewed as robbery and interest as extortion. Nevertheless the operations of pirates drew people together and moved activites.

The Mediterranean in early history presents in miniature a spectacle of the operation of those forces which in the larger field of the whole earth have brought civilization to its present stage. It shows people having settled in different places, their groups possessing separate and full political autonomies, communicating with each other through exchanges of goods and personal contact, a process which has gone on despite the Protective Spirit with its impedimenta of tariffs and migration exclusion. Asia, which had no Mediterranean, shows a strong contrast to the tremendous activities which the map of Europe displays. For in Asia the forward movement was extremely slow, there being a strong tendency towards stagnation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>‡</sup> The more rapid advance of civilization in the west than in the eastin Europe than in Asia, was due to the presence of the Mediterranean Sea, a long arm of the ocean stretching up into the land, strewn with several archipelago, on which Mesopotamia bordered and into which the Nile emptied. The shores and islands of this sea became settled with many groups or tribes of people to whom the sea furnished a free and uncontrollable avenue of communication one with the other, which passage, by reason of the Protective Spirit, would have been impossible over land.

he wanted was the precious metals. So that the galleons of that period which sailed back and forth between Spain and the New World were not merchant caravals, they were treasure ships carrying out gold seekers, their tools and provisions, and bringing back the clean-ups of the mines

Nothing in Nature's whole scheme with the human is more wonderful than this. Gold and silver, which by reason of their glitter and indestructibility are, amongst barbarous peoples, selected as the most prized ornaments for body adornment, soon take their place amongst them as commodities which every one desires. They so become the medium of circulation, and with the rise of the State are so recognized and legalized.

Gold, therefore has always been the most potent material influence in civilized society under the Protective Spirit, for it not only exchanges commodities and services, but it is the key where-by, in a society squeezed to the utmost by the pressure of land monopoly, the earth becomes opened to access to labor. The Call System turns the keen edge of money in this behalf by bringing the weight of the State down upon unused valuable land and forcing it into use. Under it the landowner seeks the laborer; it is not a matter of laborer seeking the landowner, first finding sufficient money to move the land owner to grant him permission that the earth may be used: albeit under the Call, when the landowner and the laborer do get together, money enters into their transaction. But the difference is this: that whereas under the Protective System what the landowner looks to primarily is the money, since if the laborer has not this the landowner may comfortably hold idle the land and wait until society, through its increase of population and rise of industry, so presses toward it as to give him his price, under the Call the landowner must get the land used to its full efficiency, and he will look first to the labor of the laborer, and make any terms with him he can to get him at work upon the land.

Gold and silver, therefore possessing this potent influence in Protective society, how did Nature handle these metals with respect of man? Did she spread them everywhere as she does clay out of which man makes pottery, or has ultimately come to make that most generally useful metal, aluminum? Or did she pile them in great mountains and in vast abundance upon all continents, as she does the industrial metal, iron, which man everywhere needs in great quantities? Not at all. She made these metals scarce, and she hid them in remote places, in the crevices of the earth in mountainous areas, to reach which one must needs cross, from the civilization of Europe, vast meadows of land, beautiful and inviting to the settler. And to make this lure complete, Nature sprinkled this precious gold amongst the sands from whence it might be washed by the earliest and easiest form of mining (placer), as you sprinkle grains upon the ground to attract the birds.

It was not this agricultural land that Columbus, his companions, and his successors wanted when they sailed from Spain. They wished nothing of such land. They were not bent on removal from Spain and settlement. What they wanted was that substance which would enable them to pass their lives in the civilized society of which they were a part, and there exercise control of their surroundings. The impulse with which they were filled was that which moves all emigration—it is to make quick money abroad, then return to their country and with it exist upon a higher social plane than that upon which they stood at the start of their journey.

But Nature's scheme in all this was different from that of man. Nature's purposes lie deep. You drink to enjoy the act, but Nature's concern is that you be nourished and your life thereby preserved. Her alarm bell of thirst is merely a play upon your nerves informing you that your tissues must be repaired with moisture. So with these gold seekers. Nature gave them a lure which moved them out of civilization and brought to their knowledge new areas of the earth inviting to settlement. Then with this knowledge she sent them back to their civilization, not to spend their gold, for Nature had little interest in that, but to make their report. Soon the settler followed. The gold seeker was the trail blazer of the agriculturist.

Now if the sociological system in the civilization of Europe had been that provided by the Call, where useful land was abundant, wages high, prices low, business with everyone all he could take care of, would any body have left that civilization and gone far and yon into the wilderness and faced savages and wild beasts and dangers untold in order to get a living? The dearth, the scarcity of opportunity to earn a living, the injustice, the outrage, the famine, all those forms of pressure that characterize the Protective System had to be present in order to turn the minds of some to regions beyond, and at the bottom of all this pressure land in that civilization had to be scarce and high, and men had to be enslaved, and from such a state the mind was bent to dare the distance where they might find cheap arable land and exist in freedom.

These emigrants moved out of this hard and severe society under the Protective System, but they left that condition behind them; and now after the lapse of years, when the fair free lands—albeit such were hedged by natural perils—are all gone, this society which they left rapidly crystalizing into unbearable conditions, into famine from the fact that that outward movement is shut off, quickly draws to the stress that finds relief in this vast explosion. The vent of this earth-rending cataclysm is that fiery pit named "No Man's Land." Here in convulsion ends the long drawn process of race distribution over the earth which I call the Great Cycle, and while ending, it unrolls the marvelous curtain whereby the dark past is lifted and the wonderful setting of the new earth is revealed in a grandeur and a glory which shall never perish, but whose light and splendor will grow ever greater.

When these settlers, thus thrust out of civilization, reached their destination they found there savage and barbarous man, ready to give war. This forced them to exert themeslves mentally to repel attack, and to organize government to use the collective force to secure the safety of each, and we had over again operation of the same influence which in the Tigris civilization had moved man forward under the spur of the desert nomads.

Now in about the year 1880, as we remark, this great world movement, proceeding for say, twelve thousand years, came to an The earth had been settled up by civilized man. end. All the useful land of the world was-not used but privately owned and priced, and the Protective Spirit discouraged emigration to it and settlement upon it. Moreover, the operation of the Protective System within the nations which had hitherto received immigrants, was such that the several States were moved as we have observed, to forbid immigration. And all this occurred in a day when the power of the race to increase population, hence demanding dispersion of the peoples, if the Protective System was to endure at all, had never been so great. What then do we find to be the phenomena? There is a condition of violent disturbances, strikes, boycotts, industrial civil war, crimes of all sorts in multifarious repetitionferocious and widespread disorder, agonizing poverty of vast num-bers, extremely hard times, money panics, along with the spectacle of mountainous wealth piled up in the hands of few individuals; the Protective System is drawing quickly to its crisis. Nature does not long cling to a vehicle, an integumen, in which the living thing moves, after that covering has served its purpose and become an incumbrance to the progress of the creature. The societies of the population-producing nations were struggling with the problems of feeding their people, of finding industrial opportunity amongst themselves to do so. How did they undertake to do this? By holding what opportunity existed in either person or goods, try-

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ing to strengthen their people to more effective exertion, and trying, despite the circumambient tariff walls, to acquire foreign exchanges.

We have seen how in doing this, in Germany for instance, armament drew upon the nation. The existence of armament was a standing threat to other nations, and moved armament by them. Then to supplement their armament, we find these nations grouping, so one may add his strength to that of another. and front a common peril. So arranged, an attack upon one becomes an assault upon all, and the entire are engulfed in war, for we have seen that it is the quality of war to tend to enlarge its zone of destruc-The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, was simply the tion operation of that law in the field of nations that we saw exerting itself in savage life of the human out of which society grew-the union of the strength of the unit with that of his fellow to resist the stranger, the line of cleavage in savagery being that of blood, while in civilization it is a political and economic-in other words a sociological, concept.

As in that case the purpose of the combination was war, a war for defense, so in this case—the case of the nations, it was war for defense, always for defense. With the nations armed to the teeth and so linked up the powder puff that shall start the war is of no consequence. It may be anything—the sinking of a ship, the shooting of a prince, the failure to salute a flag—any trifle may supply the spark to the tinder to set aflame the world.

This in fact did come to pass, and so we have this great earthquake, touched off by this Kaiser with his six sons for whom he would have thrones the world around, an earthquake "such as were not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake and so great," that marks the parting of the past with the future, which ends the old of the human race, and uncovers the threshold to the new.

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#### CHAPTER XX.

#### THE NEW EARTH.

The Outward Movement of Settlement Having Ceased, the Inward Movement Must Now Begin—Monopoly Must Be Abolished, and the Earth Must Be Orderly Used.—To Effect This Is Proposed the Call System.—Thereby Is Produced the Wonderful State of Society Which Men Have From the Earliest Time Felt Was Ultimately in Store for the Race.—The Reasons Why the Present War Was Necessary to the Race.—The Immobility of the Pre-war Mind Upon Sociological Inquiry.—The Ablest and Most Influential Group in Society Hedged by Privilege and opposed to Rational Investigation.—War's Drive Upon the Body to Arouse the Mind to Contemplate Sociology and Perceive the Cause of War.—The Curse of Privilege Upon the Race, and the Knell Which Has Rung for Its Departure.

Civilized man, pressed over the earth, acted differently than did savage man in this: that when the savage passed from the old continent to the new the channels of his relationship to the old dried up. With civilized man they were preserved and enlarged. In other words, the routes of migration became routes of trade, the avenues of action and reaction, of mind here upon mind there, whereby the spread of man was made to effect ever higher and higher co-operation of the units of the race.

It was when this spreading reached its barrier of exhaustion of free land and the movement doubled back upon itself and built up and strengthened its institutions of disco-operation and of lessened co-operation which had been fast disappearing, that the world war occurred as medium for cutting back population to fit the reduced power of the race to use the earth to provision, which the non-co-operative influences had caused.

This reduced power did not show itself in lessened outputs of commodities for initiative constantly increasing these indeed, were everywhere increasing, and statistical tables generally displayed what seemed to the eye, most gratifying enlargements of industrial yields. But the people who formerly left the nation or the State and, spreading themselves over far lands, left vacancies in industry to be filled by others who else would have been idle, while they

themselves not only produced in their new lands larger yields, but turned much of their product back to their old homes—these people no longer moved. The spread movement over the earth ceased. And while industry increased at home it did not increase enough, not sufficiently fast-as it always fails to do under the Protective Spirit-to supply the comfortable needs of oncoming population. The vast multitude who once had left Europe to go abroad, instead of increasing their outward movement as population in Europe increased its yield of humans, ceased emigrating, and the populations piled up within. This accumulation occurred in the presence of conditions made by laws which cut off co-operation without and within so that the people everywhere were pent up behind tariff walls, and unable to use to their full efficiency the lands they had, unable to conduct businesses within their respective nations because of laws which held opportunities to do business to privileged groups. In such stress the European continent, and the whole world was falling into famine. Nations with plenty of idle arable lands, could not sufficiently use the lands to find employment for the people. and this general tenseness had to break, and it did break in the world war.

Thus the influence which has forced man forward in his spiritual unfoldment has been increase of population-births faster than deaths. This, by thickening population, has forced ever higher cooperation amongst the units of society in order that the same area of the earth which fed a less number might feed a larger number, as the units increase, that is the co-operation must commensurately heighten, and its zones expand If there be present influences in society-as there have always been-which hold down the rise of this co-operation, or initiative, then population moving on, the people will fall behind in ability to use the earth to feed themselves. and their population in the affected area will have to be reduced. Nature arranged the sociological mechanism in this way in order to force from regions of population man, whether as savage, barbarian or civilized, and compel him to move to other places, thus getting the earth settled up, ultimately by civilized man-a wonderful process and achievement. The phenomenon was therefore, really a pressure of population against the mind, directed to its unfoldment, its progress, and the goal at which Nature was aiming is the perfect spiritual man; a condition destined to be attained by the whole human race. Maintaining the tension in society needful to squeeze units of the population out of congested areas, and force them further on, the emigrating did not proceed fast enough to relieve the pressure. War, therefore, was necessary to hold down numbers so

the population would not be greater than the mental power of the people to use the earth to feed themselves Had war, therefore been stopped at any stage of culture while the forces of the Great Cycle were in progress, the people must have soon starved. Famine must necessarily have ensued to lessen the numbers of population, and as we have remarked, in famine men cannot think, without thought progress is impossible, and Nature would have been defeated in securing man's obedience to her first law.

Outlying lands being no more, the race, to avoid continuance of war as a cutting back machine, must now meet increasing population by turning upon the lands already within society, and this it does by closer settlement, orderly settlement, or orderly use of the earth, which means using the earth to its full efficiency, and which can be effected only through the Call System. To do this, as I have shown, we must abolish monopoly-privilege in its several forms, so that the State may not be prevented from levying sufficient burden upon the social value to compel its full use, as it would be if it received taxes from tariffs and from about everything else, as is the case now. This change with respect of the earth, thus turning inwardly upon society to fully use its reserves of valuable lands caused by the outer lands being exhausted, produces that glorious state of the race, long felt by men to be its ultimate goal, often and of old predicted as the time of perpetual peace, unbroken harmony and endless abundance for every human being severally according to his merit.

It is a state of society in which there can be not only no war nor armament, but no business hard times with its slack sales, tight money, bad collections, financial panics and so on; no industrial unrest with its strikes, lockouts, riots, arising at times to civil war, and so forth; no unemployment, low wages, scarcity, high prices, poverty. Most of the crime, insanity, disease—where such have an economic origin, disappear; as does also child labor, much of the divorce, prostitution, intemperance. In other words, generally speaking, there vanish about all of the disturbances which now render society inharmonious.

In the place of these there at once devolves a social condition in which there is unbreakable peace; where there are more offers of business than business people can accept, and profits are good; where there are more jobs than there are men; where commodities of all kinds and in ever increasing varicty exist not only in abundance but in profusion; where wages are high, prices low, and money is easy; where collections are prompt; where strikes cannot exist; lockouts do not occur; where internal disorder wholly ceases, crime practically passes; intemperance disappears—not through the cudgel of force exercised by the State assailing "drink," but through the free volition and moral rise of the people; so also divorce becomes uncommon; child labor no longer a phenomenon, and all other incidents we have remarked whose quality it is to tend to disintegrate society, fade from the human race forever.

It being then the fact that the alteration from the outward movement to the inward movement of land settlement produces this marvelous efforescence of society, why was this terrible world war an incident of that change? True, we have seen, the world war came through the outward movement being stopped, forming no longer a vent to population, so that the units were pent up, damned up, and an increasing margin could not be fed. But why was it ordained by Nature that such great and frightful thing as this war should befall the race when it would have been so easy to have prevented the war by simply abolishing privilege and using the earth efficiently, a thing that could be installed by one nation through the people merely depositing their votes in the ballot box with such recourse and relief possible, why was this horrible scourge of this war?

The war occurred for three purposes:

First, to reduce population so that with the Protective System existing, famine could be prevented and civilization preserved. Nature will take no chances with human progress. The race can never go backward. Second, to bring full co-operation to dis-co-operated society, and show the mind thereby the condition to effect through legislation whereby harmony in society may prevail. Third, to awaken the mind to contemplate the sociological subject so the condition may be realized, the operations of Nature understood, and the remedy perceived, whereupon the remedy would be applied, thus acting politically—as war has always acted—pushing the social unit towards the goal of equal right, in this instance finally landing him directly at that goal.

It might be thought that this awakening of the mind to recognition of the great change towards which the race has evolved, and which it is imperative shall be installed, would in society at the stage of enlightenment in which it now is, be very easy to effect. One to whom it was presented might instantly declare that all that would be necessary to get the information immediately diffused amongst the people would be for the sociologist who elucidated the condition to send his book to a publisher, who would at once print it and distribute it throughout the nation, and that the people would forthwith read it and thoroughly discuss it, and understanding the truth they would instantly through the political arm of the State, bring the change into effect, whereupon war would be impossible.

The person who would fancy such things, would be very, very greatly mistaken. Society, before the outbreak of the war, could not be moved to concern itself with the cause of war and its cure, or with any of the sociological phenomena we have enumerated; and in those regions of society unaffected by the devastation and the deaths of war, it cannot be so moved today.

For society is not looking for the solution of the problems of society. There is no spirit of inquiry alert, critical of existing arrangements and anxious to receive and meditate any analysis which anyone may bring forward claiming to disclose their error. The disposition is precisely to the contrary. Society does not want its sociology examined. Nay, take a scrutiny of it to any organized group of individuals anywhere and request that it be gone into; you will find your offer will be refused. The persons whom you address will not alone manifest no interest in what you have to show, but they will become antagonistic to you personally. The phenomenon obtains everywhere. It is not less in San Francisco than in New York. It is amongst all minds, ecclesiastical and lay, academic and pragmatic; it is amongst business groups and labor bodies, amongst men and amongst women. And the question is: what is the cause of this general indifference to a subject which is vital to the lives and properties of a large section of the indivduals of the human race?

The cause is first, mental inertia. Sociology is a dry subject and people yawn when they read it. It is deemed abstruse, full of "theory," that is, it deals with the abstract, and people when they read like to have action. Again, sociology as it exists comprises "professor stuff," most of which is worthless, and much of the balance non-understandable. It is vertiginous, insalubrious and unprofitable reading. Hence it is not read.\* That, however, which does not bear the academic brand, is not even looked at.

<sup>\*</sup> Sociology is commonly looked upon as a body of knowledge something of the type of archeology—a subject in which people generally have no concern. At most it is regarded as we regard engineering or chemistry, subjects which engage specialists who have their nests in universities, or who issue from thence, and whose lucubrations lie under pink paper covers in thick quarterlies which repose quietly on library shelves and nobody reads. This is sociology as it exists today, sociology passing under the name of "economics."

Sociology, however, as a science, is essentially a domestic science. It belongs to the curriculum of the school boy, like arithmetic. It is as necessary to be known to the every-day man as is the alphabet. He may as well

Nevertheless inertia does not sufficiently answer the question. People do read abstract discussions, else there would be no practitioners of any science. The particular reason for the aversion of society for sociology is that society is today built upon privilege. Almost everyone who owns property, or holds a job, does so by virtue of some monopoly, and he does not want the political laws changed so that he may no longer enjoy his privilege. To such persons, possessed of comfortable incomes, the world is good enough. We have seen that the Seris,\* in common with savage tribes, have an aversion for taking quarry by artificial means, and a contempt for those who do so. This is because wild food has always been abundant amongst them. Should food become so scarce that it could no longer be taken by hand, the animals, reduced in number, becoming wary through intense hunting, the Seri will abolish his satisfaction with what to him is a sociological condition-hand capture-and will cudgel his brains to devise traps and projectiles for artificial taking. So with this privilegist. Content with the material yield of his surroundings, he has contempt for those who would propose change of the sociological arrangement of which those surroundings are a part. When, however, he loses his fortune, his business, or his well-paid situation, and fails to become re-established, then the harp strings of his voice turn vibrant, and we have assaults on prevailing society that would put to shame the anarchist or the I. W. W. In other words, his mind becomes active, just as would the Seri mind, to produce a sociological condition which would bring food within his reach.

Without, however, the thrust and pressure of this lessened food supply, he disdains sociological discussion. Anyone who doesn't get along in prevailing society as well as he feels he should may, he thinks, find the remedy for his condition in his own behavior. Those persons who are always coming forward with schemes to upset things through affecting the government to their notions, he considers simply pestiferous and preposterous offenders, trying to disturb the stability of society in order to find an easier way of getting along through getting hold, without recompense, of the propcrty of some one else. Any treatment such theorists receive they, to his notion, merit, and the shortest shrift for them is best.

\* See p. 12 note.

dispense with the art of reading as with that science upon which rests his powers to effect government so that he may have a society in which he can earn a living. The day of sociology as a web spun cavity in a library wall where a flirt of the feathers uncovers a university publication—that day is past. Sociology is now a living, breathing, pulsating thing, which moves in rhythmic harmony with the heart beats of all humanity.

Where such commentator is not an immediate beneficiary of privilege he nevertheless receives his support from privilegists, and he will not oppose their interests. Aside from this a sentiment pervades favorable to those sociological doctrines which are held by the most important men in the community. The merchant, struggling in the swirl of cut-throat competition, will nevertheless stand pat for protective tariffs; the keeper of a repair shop whose business is purely local, and who is pressed on all hands by competitors and creditors, deems the Railroad Commission an heaven-sent beneficence, and would scout one talking of freedom of the highways; and so on we might cover the list.

It is when local outbreak occurs in a labor strike that ties up the channels of exchange, or when the dynamite crew, or the I. W. W. places a bomb or fires a block, that these entities become strident. Then we hear vociferous appeals to the State for policemen's clubs to allay disturbances. What they demand is "law and order." They do not, in fact, wish **law and order**. If they did they would open their minds to sociological analysis whereby law and order is automatically established and securely preserved. What they really want is **quiescence** that they may be unmolested in their enjoyment of privilege. They want things sociologically kept as they are, and the irruptions to which the system gives vent they demand be suppressed by force.

And when we consider that these persons comprise the leaders in practically all occupations, merchants, manufacturers, bankers, financiers, real estate operators, constructors, editors, lawyers, physicians, ministers of churches, high State officials, presidents and professors of colleges—truly the most excellent, capable and gracious of men, the very kings of the earth—that their attitudes, dictated by their interests, oppose them to adjust society on a basis which would eliminate privilege, what opportunity has reason to install in political law the adjustment which produces harmony among men.

Shall you interest them in talk of abolishing war? There are amongst them those who wish this. But how? By recognizing that war is a sociological phenomenon and examining society to see where exists its malarrangement which produces war, then moving to correct that error? Not at all. They want war stopped by force. They will have it stopped in no other way. Criticise society and you offend them. They would be the last to listen to your elucidations for ending war by abolishing privilege, for they are severally the beneficiaries of monopolies.

As for others, while they express regret at war's existence, deep

in their hearts they are not interested in ending it. War has been to them a dispensation. Scores of thousands of them have been snatched from the chasm's edge of money ruin by the call to arms. Where profit has been made from war they have been its profiteers. They have coined into jingling yellow the clotted drops of red. What shipbuilding plant, what maker of anything which war requires, what two-eighty wheat farmer, or fifty-dollar-a-ton fruit grower, really deplores the existence of war! What owner of railroad stocks or bonds regrets that the State stepped in where onesixth of the mileage of the country was in receiver's hands; where no company could float bonds, could only borrow on short-term notes; where road after road had been foreclosed and bought from the sheriff by an inside clique of bondholders, the stock wiped out and the minority bonds depreciated to a fifth of their face-what owner or creditor of railroads, I say, but was pleased when the government closed its hand on the roads, guaranteed their yielding an income which gave interest in full and dividends, and gave stability to the values of the securities? And if any such person was glad when the government did this, could he have been sorry for the existence of the war which compelled the government to do it?

Nevertheless, we shall find within this field of the privileged group, here and there, a nature's nobleman: men and women who are able to cast aside the sense of selfish interest, and open their minds to the broad vision of the world about them. They are those who would gladly come to the relief of human kind if they but knew the practicable way to do it, if they but knew the lines, pursuit of which would bring the result for which the heart of humanity longs. J have faith that these exist.

Such being the state of the mind of society as to proposed sociological change, it would seem that it would be a proverbial "long time" before any nation of the world could be brought to see and put into operation the natural adjustment which I here refer to as the Call System, which abolishes war and brings to all freedom and abundance. But is the great plan of Nature that man shall go rapidly forward in progress to be defeated by man's perversity, by his mental sluggishness in awakening to the need of change, that the evolution toward the goal of the perfect man may proceed? Not at all. Nature has never relied upon the human mind in moving forward the race. Had she done so no progress could have been made, for the mind has at all times been too feeble to furnish from within the volition to alter the course of race conduct. Nature has never left the matter of dispensing with a great evil to repose in the hands of those who were profiting by the existence of that evilalways powerful, and often the most powerful, persons in society. While, we have seen, every war through effecting full co-operation in a dis-co-operative society has been as a great hand pointing the mind to the cause of war, and appealing to it to search and find war's remedy, yet nevertheless things are so adjusted that when the hour comes for necessary change the change evolves automatically. When an institution in society has fully served its end promotive of human welfare. it destroys itself. Every such institution bears within itself the quality of producing an intolerable condition surrounding it, which quickly brings forward the instruments which exterminate it. It has been so with all the aids to progress which we have remarked herein; with the despotic State, the autocratic church, with slavery, with serfdom, with piracy, with pestilence-we may run the whole gamut of these sociological establishments, vitally requisite in their beginnings as means to human progress, but which, when their several epochs had closed, when they had ceased to advance progress and had come to retard it, brought upon themselves the engines which effaced them.

The Protective System is now following this natural course. This System, during the whole of the Great Cycle, produced a quality of society intolerable to millions of people, forcing them out of it and compelling them to spread far and wide over the earth. When its career in this respect had run, we find this System producing a far more intolerable condition of society, a phase of which is perpetual war. This will compel society to awaken to the presence of the Protective Spirit and abolish it, in order that the war might end. For let us not deceive ourselves: peace will never return to the world until the earth is again open to human settlement, and as the outward or spread movement of that settlement has ended, its inward or closing-up movement must now begin. In other words, there will be no peace in the world again under the Protective System. What we might think was peace at the time it was declared would soon show itself to be merely a truce, a prelude to war still more terrible and more devastating. Shall we say that the Allies will not achieve a victory? Not if Germany adds Russia to her hosts. We shall then have the world so balanced in population and initiative that war will become the static state of society. find that the war has now brought the population of Europe to a standstill. That the condition is that the annual additions to the matured of the belligerent peoples are apportioned, say, six to civilian industry and one to the armies. That instead of population sloughing an annual margin in famine in the presence of a highly dis-co-operative society, it now sloughs its margin in destruction in

a fully co-operative society. Progress, which was threatened with extinction by the marasmus of Protective peace, now is secure, and goes in some way forward with everyone busy and prosperous.

But if Germany does not add Russia to her forces, shall we not prevail in battle? Perhaps. And will not this end the war—this war? Not at all. The interval of quiescence could not possibly be other than an armistice, allowing but breathing space for the contestants to shape themselves for further and prolonged conflict.

The conditions of peace now are that the world will be held in a league of nations, which, despite the assumptions that nations shall stand separately in the league, will comprise two groups, tightly bound together within themselves by community of interests, the Allies comprising a somewhat enlarged **Entente**, and the Central Powers a somewhat enlarged Alliance. Each side will act as a unit upon vital questions, the larger group seeking to impose its will upon the lesser, not only through its control of the parliament, but through its Court, which is to be installed to settle disputes between nations, with power to enforce its decrees. The establishment of these institutions will place the world in a balance of power predicament similar to that of Europe at the outbreak of the war.

Meanwhile the forces of dis-co-operation within society will be enormously heightened. Not only will each and all of the seven monopolies remain untouched, but a sentiment against trading with the nations of the Central Powers will pervade the world, accentuated in various countries by active boycotts, by anti-dumping laws, by tariffs and by differential tariffs. Within the nations the Protective Spirit, through its instrument, war, shall have merged practically all industry into the State. The State with its force has now come to appear to both producer and laborer as the only means through which society can be made to deliver to its units livings. This is to an inexpressible extent a repressive influence upon initiative, which will at once tend to fail. With population held at a standstill through war, with the channels of communication between the nations of the respective belligerent groups pried open, with migration exclusion crushed, and with industrial waste to some extent eliminated through unified operation of industry by the State, the fully co-operative society resulting will allow initiative in some degree to arise, and progress, while clinging to that which it has, will go slowly forward.

But with the vent of war holding down population closed, peace, with such a sociological arrangement as would then be upon the world—the channels of international communication being again blocked by tariffs and migration exclusion, the jobs held by a State group preponderating in numbers, amongst whom there is practically no initiative, and in the outer group tension of enormous pressure for opportunity to get livings created by the forces which would be producing and constantly increasing dearth, until famine acquired vast proportions—such a peace, I say, entailing a state of society not less intolerable than that of active war, would not last a decade, and it may be doubtful if it would last half a decade, despite the after-war reconstruction activities which would prevail possibly two years. Population's increase and the disorganizing influences of the Protective Spirit, the latter intensified as they would then stand, would compel a return to war as a relief, and war of indefinite duration.\*

What the war today, therefore, means is that it is Nature's attack upon the Protective System, and it will endure until that System is abolished. The war is, as of old, a drive of Nature upon the body to arouse the mind. It is the process under which man has come forward from the start now brought against him for its final thrust. For as soon as the facts here stated are known, as soon as the pressure of the war's presence, and the realization that it does not end but tends to become static, or to promise after-war sociological arrangements and conditions more hateful than war, as this moves the race mind to contemplate what is here shown—the war will end.

\* The inevitableness of perpetual war, punctuated by sporadic peace from which the resumption of war will be a relief characterizing future society under the Protective System, rests upon the fact that in Protective peace ever rising prices are a phenomenon. This compels the State to administer industry in order that famine of a large margin may be averted. This State administration, as we have noted in the case of the railroads, becomes ultimately State operation and such operation gives the State an income from industry whereby it voluntarily lowers its revenues from taxation. This lessening of taxation increases the volume of valuable land, or social value, which is held out of use. This, along with the State control of industry, tremendously depresses initiative, rapidly intensifies business hard times and enlarges the number of non-co-operatives. The spectre of famine becomes an ever-nearing menace, and the nation begins to wish for a resumption of those industrial activities which war entails. It is better even to be in the army with a chance against you of being killed, wounded or enslaved by the enemy, than to be harried to death by poverty, over-work and under-feeding as a static condition of peace; while the business man remembers with regrets the heavy sales he made and the profits realized while war was on. A "will to war" arises; a fever of armament sets in. The cost of armament being drawn from industry, such preparedness greatly intensifies the condition. By the time the nation has arisen, and war is resumed. Therefore, we may perceive the necessity of this war in order to move the mind to meditate war's cause and meaning. What likelihood would there have been of awakening interest in the discussion of this book without the existence of this war? What hope could there have been of correcting the error in society which causes famine without attention forcibly arrested through the presence of war itself! Even now this message will be faintly heard where war has not paved the land with pallid faces. There, amidst the palling silence, this voice will speak. Not in San Francisco, not in the United States, but yonder where the blinds are drawn, and where the doors are black with crape. Those are the people who, sitting amidst vacant chairs, will want to understand what war is. And we too shall understand when we have suffered, but we shall suffer ere we do, and when that day comes, as I have remarked, the war will end.

Overtures for peace will be made. Demands on both sides, which now seem to the respective Powers imperative, and which constitute apparently insuperable obstacles to peace, will then be perceived of no consequence. We shall not require that the Hohenzollerns be deposed, for we will no longer regard it an affair of ours as to who holds the political offices of Germany or of any other nation, for no officeholder, nor any group of such, could ever again make war. The restoration of conquered territory to its rightful owners would be willingly made by both sides, for there would no longer be any object or benefit in a nation extending its political rule over another's domain. It would be seen that the greatness of a nation is not a matter of the scope of land within its political rule, nor even in the numbers of its population, but in the intellectual splendor of its people as reflected in their industrial and ethical power. That the matter of political rule is a subject for the determination of the governed themselves. There are strong reasons why people who are comprised in large nations should remain so. The pride of nationality, the fidelity to those communal traditions and associations, linked with love of home, which we call patriotism, the fact that a large and highly cultured nation will have a greater volume of social value to draw upon than a small nation would have, and therefore would possess many magnificent public improvements, pleasures and facilities, which the small nation could not have-all these and many other influences would, under the Call, tend to hold nations into large numerical groups. There must needs be very strong overriding reasons for a section of population to break away from the nation of which it is a part, and those reasons could not be mere desire on part of a few individuals to receive salaries

for holding offices. Such a consideration would not appeal to the people who would be called upon to make the severance.

If, however, such preponderating reasons did exist, the nation from which the segregation was made would have no cause to regret it. Whether a people could advance best under its rule, or under their own, the severed nation would be most furthered by that advancement; since all forms of communication between the nations being free, and the land of each used to full efficiency, the positions of political lines are of no consequence. Under the Call people will progress most rapidly where they are most in harmony with their surroundings. With these principles kept in mind there would be found, in the peace parleys, no difficulty in dealing with the territorial questions of Europe.

The matter of indemnities to persons who have suffered losses through the war, being a monetary incident, could be met at the conference table. The question could not be serious. The war is every month burning up and destroying as much wealth and service as probably would be required to rehabilitate the peoples who have suffered and survived, or if not in a month, then say in three or six months, or whatever number of months you will. With the impending release of human energies from the thrall of the Protective Spirit, with the deliverance of the peoples of the nations which the Call System provides, to which society will at once respond with enormous production, a matter of money for indemnities to the injured will not surpass the bounds of higgling. In the dismantling of armaments the belligerents would at once agree; for all revenues being derived from social value, the holders of the social value within the several nations would no longer permit armament. We shall not seek to impose upon the Central nations nor upon ourselves any league to enforce peace, nor any court of international arbitration, which will subordinate their respective sovereign powers; for such instruments become wholly useless and unnecessary. The nations will keep peace because they severally cannot make war; and their own honor and dignity, in the world condition of harmony and equal right which would follow, may be relied upon to meet with justice any demand which would be made upon them.

Here then we have the conditions of peace such as would be made by the nations awakened to an understanding of the movement of the Great Cycle and of the sociological adjustment which the close of the movement demands. What we of the Allies would ask of Germany is precisely what Germany would propose to the Allies—that her internal arrangement be shaped to accord with the

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natural System, and that the Allies do the same thing within their own several countries. For, as I have said, German cohesion and German military persistence is based upon the belief that centralized industry, possible only with a centralized government, is necessarv for the existence of the German people; not only for the development of their industry, but for preserving them from famine. They firmly believe that only through use of the State can society be made to deliver to the individual a living. They differ amongst themselves solely upon the manner in which the State should be directed to this end. The red socialists would have this effected through "democratic control," a method which Russia has shown impracticable. But the conservative people of the country feel that it has been abundantly shown that the State can be made most effective to this end by the prevailing autocratic establishment. They also believe that to maintain themselves they must have added areas of land to settle with emigration, and over which, through their political administration, they may extend their zone of freedom of exchange. Show them the errors of these beliefs, which were effort thereto made they could apprehend in a month, and they will be prompt and ready to propose acceptable terms of peace.

Should it, however, appear that Germany was intractable to the overtures of the Allies to end the war through the adoption of the natural or Call System, the war would, nevertheless, soon be closed by the Allies themselves putting it into force in their several countries. The psychological spell of the announcement of the Cycle and of what war is and means, as shown herein, and the change from the Protective to the Call System, would produce an overwhelming effect upon the minds of the peoples of the Central nations, and they would not tolerate opposition to the change on part of their rulers. Moreover, while this acceptance was pending, the Allies would have been placed in an immensely superior position for carrying on the war, by freeing industry and forcing efficient use of their land according to its social value content. This would at once relieve the strain upon civilian industry from which war cost is now sapping the life, and increase the productive power of the nations, liberating production at the same time from labor troubles. This change would be to the Allies equal to a vast victory in battle, and as it would place the belligerents upon a basis of immense inequality, it would shortly close the war by the defeat of the Central Powers; when the new System would be imposed upon them as a condition of peace.\* Under such circumstances no

<sup>\*</sup> The condition of part of the Allies who, having adopted the Call, found it necessary to continue the war by reason of Germany refusing to adjust

sooner would the Call get into existence in the countries of middle Europe than their peoples would recognize its benefit, and be filled with gratitude to the Allied nations for their possession of it. I have no idea, however, that such measures shall be at all necessary to move Germany to abandon privilege and install equal right. She will, in my opinion, do so willingly when she understands the question; if, indeed, coming into possession of the knowledge shown herein, she does not first assert it to the Allies as a basis of her peace proposals.<sup>‡</sup>

her internal order to the same system, would be that the war would be carried forward with great vigor, notwithstanding the gates of civilian industry would be widely open, and great demand for labor with high wages, and prices tending low, would exist in each allied nation. This state of things would be the reverse from that which obtains during war in Protective society, where the shutting down of civilian industry, compelled by war, forces men into the army to find sustenance. The opening of civilian industry by the Call during the war would not draw men from the army. On the contrary, the immeasurable and ecstatic zeal which would seize the nation at the consciousness that there had been positively found, and was in hand, the sociological system which not only absolutely ends war forever, but which would devolve an after-war society in which it would be to each and all a glory to live, would carry forward the Allied arms with an enthusiasm which nothing could parallel and which would be wholly indescribable. The movement would be altruistic, and it would seize the people with the fiery furore of a religious crusade. While it may well be imagined that troops in large number of the opposing armies, being informed of the application of the new system in the Allied countries, of the welcome which awaited them therein as immigrants, and the great industrial opportunities thereby open to them severally as settled residents, would desert their colors for the purpose of thus procuring transportation thither-drawn thence by the irresistible attraction which society under the Call system offers as against that of the Protective Spirit. This process would tend rapidly to demoralize the resistance of the Central Powers.

<sup>‡</sup>In view of the preceding statement that the political establishment of Germany was no affair of ours, and that we should not demand the overthrow of the so-called "military caste" (meaning the Hohenzollerns) with the incident installation of some type of government shaped to our notions, but that all this was an affair solely of the German people, the question may arise as to why it is nevertheless proposed that there be, if necessary, forced upon Germany the salient features of the Call System?

The difference is that the Call System is essentially economic, not political. In the economic adjustment of Germany all nations have rights, and equal rights. No nation has a right to maintain within itself a system which makes war by it upon other nations a sociological necessity for the existence of her people and maintenance of their culture. Any nation which, in the light of the knowledge herein brought forth, would deliberately try to do so would be the Ishmaelite of the world, on whom if requisite to correct its economic organization, war properly could be made. War to such end, however, we have seen, as to nations with whom we are at peace, is not necessary. The natural System installed in one country automatically Then we shall have an end of the war. And what an end it will be! It will not be an end as is now proposed, where a third of the world is to be thrown into disco-operation with the rest, but where all will work together in full harmony, albeit with individual or group exertion in rivalry to excell. Men will be free to go anywhere to work, to buy, to make and sell on equal terms over the whole earth, and everywhere the land bearing social value shall be used to its full measure, and abundance, peace, happiness and joy shall fill the world.

For in the presence of a comprehension that this terrible war was a natural cataclysm, for which no one was really responsible, but that a sociological condition which none understood, of which none were aware, produced it and all its consequences, that men really act as their environment moves them to act, and however much we may censure them for their conduct under such circumstances they are not beyond excuse, the chapter of this frightful experience will pass into history. There will then disappear that bitterness of feeling and thirst for revenge which now suffuses the peoples of whole nations against each other, and which it is at present deliberately planned to perpetuate following the war, and to be made a basis of conduct in peace. People everywhere will then realize that for every man who fell on the battle line, whether French or German, Italian or Austrian, British, Bulgar, Russian or American-for every man who fell he individually is poorer; for society has been deprived of a willing worker in its task of wresting from nature things for human benefit in the stock of which he shares. The war will then close as closed our Civil War,

and peacefully forces its way into all countries. The Allies, with Germany fought to the limit of her resistance, would have a perfect right to require her to abolish her seven monopolies, which brings full use of her social value. Having done this the political administration of Germany could safely be left to the German people. If they wished to continue the Kaiser, that would be their affair; if they wished to dethrone and retire him, and to abolish his entire entourage, they would do so. We might comfortably rely upon the fact that they would very shortly so reconstruct their government that the people would have an equal vote as to their legislature, and that the executive would be, if not answerable to, at least co-ordinate with, the legislative. With the several monopolies extinguished all reason for the exclusive club of the Bundesrath, and the highly partial system of election of the Reichstag, disappears; autocracy itself vanishes. The political establishment of privilege is at an end immediately there is effaced the economic objects of its existence. Hence I say it is not alone a right but a duty of the Allies to force upon the Central nations the natural System if they should not willingly accept it. But I believe they would not alone willingly take it, but that they would receive it with gratitude.

in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln: "With malice toward none, with charity to all."

What is it that obstructs us from this peace? What is it that keeps the distracted peoples separate and solidified in hate? What is it that comprises the real issue of this war, for which, in the absence of understanding of nature's laws, the war is being fought and furthered? What, indeed, is the real enemy of the human race? It is PRIVILEGE! Here then is the Whore of Babylon, now known though long a mystery, who, enthroned on her monopolies exercises the force of the State. With her these kings of the earth fornicate and fill the world with abominations. Verily is the cup of the wine of her fornications now filled, and she must hence depart. And with her will go the murder, the maiming, the screams of the ravished women and the feeble cries of the famished child, the glare of the burning city and the slavery of the people the world around. And iron-heeled despotism shall no longer crush the breasts of the prostrate, nor shall famine fill the land which God has leveled and watered for abundance. No longer will the cowed debtor slink before his creditor, nor men be goaded by the lash of need to hateful tasks. All, all will go with thee thou curse and horror of the ages, thou and thy votaries will disappear! And in their stead we shall have men, MEN fashioned in the image of God and filled with the spirit of Jesus Christ, whose highest aim will be to merit good will of their fellows.

For that which we show herein unrolls a new Heaven and a new Earth. A new Heaven, for now it is, to the length He allows us vision, that we see God. Temples built to propitiate, altars reared for sacrifice, are not for Him; for He demands not worship but obedience. To understand and then obey, to add to unconscious performance that which issues from the will, is the command God has laid upon the human. And this is not for His exaltation, not for His glorification, to which the poor human heart can nothing add, but for man's own happiness and harmony with his kind. For this God of the endless universe as of the human race, is not cruel. He is a loving Father, infinite in His wisdom and care, bountiful in His provision of us, Who strews the paths of the earth with flowers and with perfumes, and Who shapes the thorns therein only to guide us. And shall we be heedless of those warnings? Shall we seek destruction and shun safety? Shall we turn to darkness and abjure light? Thwart and stiffe it as these privileged units may, the great human race wells with its abhorrence of evil and its desire for truth. To know truth is to find freedom and to hold it, for today as in the Past and ever in the farthest Future, the truth shall make ye free.\*

\*What is proposed in regard to the present war? To try to stop it as at present waged? Not for a moment. Without altering a single whit our present course in the war, or lessening our efforts, we should educate our own people in the magnificent possibilities of Democracy under obedience to natural laws. From these laws there is no appeal or escape. Germany in her unconscious repudiation of these laws has become the common enemy; and where governments have refused to join in the common cause the peoples with truer instincts urged them on. Yet we must fight the brood of privilege within our own borders—the same brood which in Germany has matured into abhorrent monstrosities.

This war is being waged to prevent future wars—not by a permanent armed league of nations to enforce peace, which is Germany's **uber alles** idea, but by convincing Germany that she is wrong, and guarding against a perpetuation of her errors within ourselves. What therefore, we do, is to add to the legend "make the world safe for democracy" its economic meaning. As it now stands the phrase relates to **political liberty**; with this we incorporate **economic freedom**; whereby there is acquired for the war the full issue of free peoples.

# THE CALL SYSTEM

#### VERSUS

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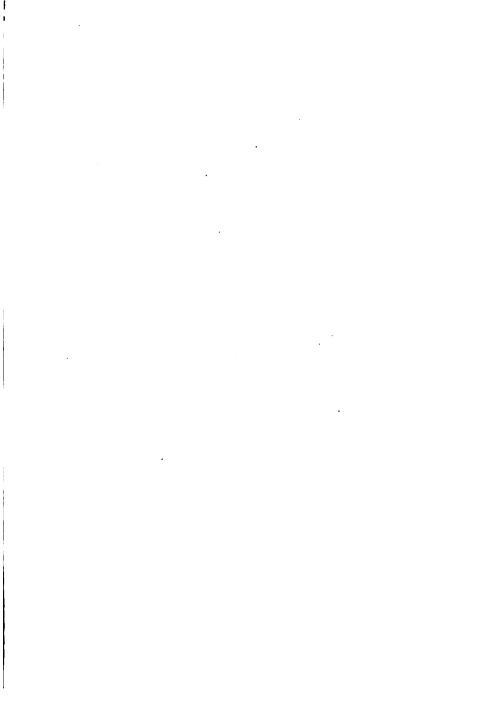
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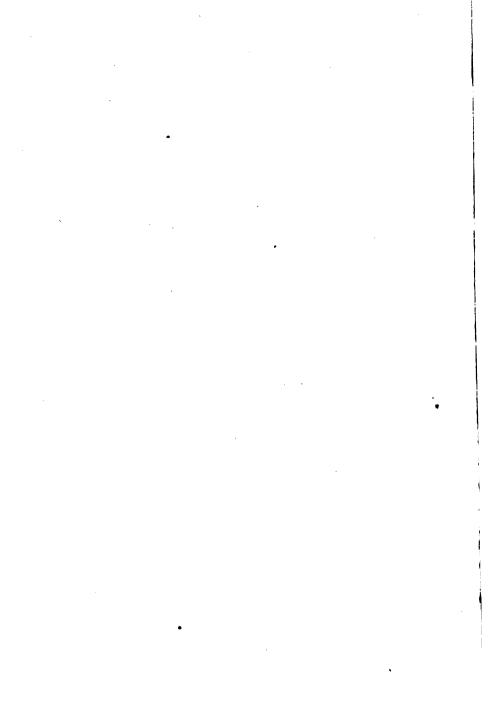
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